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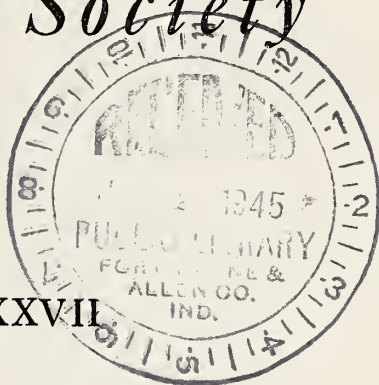
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THE MIDDLE WESTERN HISTORICAL NOVEL

BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

NEARLY fifty years ago Paul Leicester Ford pointed out that in fiction an atmosphere could be as historical as an event, and attributed the popularity of historical romance to the conviction of truth which the mention of real persons, places, and events conveys to the mind of the reader.¹ Like most definitions this statement is connotative rather than exact, yet it is fundamentally sound and it emphasizes the directive growth of historical fiction since the days of Scott and Dumas. The early masters of the genre commonly told a romantic story about a handsome and chivalrous hero, a sentimental, noble, and beautiful heroine, a suave and sinister villain, and low-life realistic characters to season. If the *dramatis personae* were numerous enough and sufficiently separated geographically, the novelists shifted the narrative from one group to another, sometimes exercising considerable ingenuity in effecting transitions, often ignoring such links. Always the emphasis lay on action, on a chain of incidents approaching and finally culminating in a climax. To the excited reader of the *Leatherstocking Tales* the story is supreme; the elaborate descriptions of costume or landscape, the prolix moralizings, are tedious digressions to be leaped in headlong gallop as a steeple-chaser takes a hedge.

But by the end of the nineteenth century, as Ford remarked, the scope of the historical novel was widening. Novelists no longer felt constrained to subordinate every-

¹ Paul Leicester Ford, "The American Historical Novel," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXX (Dec., 1897), 721-28.

thing to the narrative. It was more and more possible to present a picture, to report the minutiae of life, to study the inflections and locutions of speech, the inhibitions and ethics of society, the foods eaten, the education demanded, the values recognized, the institutions founded or subverted. There is always room, naturally, for the gifted storyteller; possessed of only a little of the necessary sparkle and freshness, he has never wanted an audience. But appreciative readers sought avidly for books which did more than tell a tale localized a generation or a century ago. Bernard De Voto has recently observed that the historical novel is following "the preference of the times for realistic writing, psychological inquiry, and social judgment in fiction." The result is a kind of fiction different from and on the whole superior to that relished by our grandfathers.² Our increased national self-consciousness is happily being implemented by a finer and broader fictional art.

In America the historical novel as a type is almost as old as the novel itself. Thirty-two years after the appearance of what is generally considered the first American novel,³ Cooper published *The Spy*, his famous "tale of the neutral ground." His immediate followers did little to vary the revolutionary and border romances which he inaugurated. Simms, Paulding, Kennedy, Cooke, all utilized the backgrounds which Cooper introduced; and all imitated the master's technique, even to the conventional hero and heroine, the involved sequence of capture, escape, and pursuit, and the balancing of rough low-life figures against wooden protagonists. The historical characters were likely to be Washington or John Paul Jones, Pocahontas or King Philip, Wolfe or Montcalm. For fifty years the Atlantic seaboard produced the writers and supplied the material.

But a change was inevitable. The westward movement

² Bernard De Voto, "Fiction and the Everlasting If," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXVII (June, 1938), 42.

³ William Hill Brown, *The Power of Sympathy*, 1789.

did more than turn the eyes of the restless and the ambitious across the Alleghenies; to the writer of historical fiction the opening of the Northwest Territory meant new and untouched material, unfamiliar traditions and legends, fresh characters, significant movements to assess. Gradually novelists discovered the vast opportunities inherent in the history and geography of that enormous region stretching westward toward the Rockies and from the Ohio River to Canada. At least one author stressed the point in a prefatory remark: "It is surprising that the many romantic and wonderful incidents abounding in the beautiful West, scarcely arouses [*sic*] the curiosity of the many enlightened minds who exhaust their talents in recording events familiar to every well read person."⁴

The effect of this fresh material was quickly apparent. The massacre at Fort Dearborn, the Battle of Tippecanoe, St. Clair's defeat, Clark's midwinter triumph at Vincennes, these and other themes claimed the attention of writer and reader; just as the new protagonists included Pontiac, Tecumseh, William Henry Harrison, and Abraham Lincoln. Puritans and Dutch and Tories no longer occupied the center of the stage, but coureurs de bois, Kentucky "long knives," Methodist missionaries, copper and lead miners, fur traders, French Jesuits, and immigrants eager for the lush bottom lands or the oak openings flashed before the footlights. If the early middle western historical novel followed the old pattern, it was at least cut from new stuff.

I. NOVELS OF POLITICS AND WAR

In the chronology of settlement the French were the first Europeans to penetrate the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi territory, and it is only natural that writers should have chosen the voyageurs, missionaries, and nobles of Old France for their protagonists. Yet there are few novels

⁴ Mrs. Anna L. Snelling, introduction to *Kabaosa; or, The Warriors of the West* (New York, 1842).

of distinction that have as their theme the attempt to carve out of North America a new empire for Louis XIV. The saga of Cadillac and La Salle has been very inadequately told in fiction.

There is, for example, Mary Hartwell Catherwood's *The Story of Tonty*, 1890. So limited in scope that it resembles a novelette rather than a novel, the book opens at a Montreal beaver fair in 1678, shifts to Fort Frontenac in 1683, and ends at Fort St. Louis (better known as Starved Rock) on the Illinois River in 1687. Although Tonty of the iron hand is the nominal hero and although Miss Catherwood pays a warm tribute to his loyalty and his achievements,⁵ Tonty is definitely subordinated to his friend and leader, Robert Cavelier de La Salle. The portrait of La Salle with his grandiose dreams of empire, his cold and imperious pride, and his failure to find either friends or supporters in the intendancy of Quebec is graphic. In comparison to La Salle's frustration, Tonty's love affair with his leader's niece seems trivial.

Another early French explorer is the hero of Everett McNeil's *Daniel Du Luth*, 1926, a fantastic narrative written for a juvenile audience which also begins at Montreal in 1678 and which is set almost entirely on the Great Lakes. Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut is pictured as a paragon of muscle, high spirits, and intelligence but he is not made real; and the account of the rescue of a long-lost white child on an island in Lake Superior is quite preposterous. A more mature novel is Arthur Pound's *Hawk of Detroit*, 1939, the story of Cadillac and his efforts to found a fort and trading post on the west side of the narrow waterway joining Lakes Huron and Erie. The novel opens in Paris but rapidly shifts to Detroit, where most of the action is concentrated. Once again we are shown the failure of the French minister of

⁵ Miss Catherwood declared: "No justice ever was done to this man who gave to his friends with both hand of flesh and hand of iron, caring nothing for recompense; and whom historians, priests, tradition, savages, and his own deeds unite in praising" (p. 227).

finance and the governor-general to understand the game being played in the interior of the continent, and the storm of recrimination and jealousy which harries Cadillac is depressingly clear. Pound's novel presents several facets of the Indian problem which any French commandant had to solve and sketches the bitter rivalry between Recollect and Jesuit missionaries. As a story, however, it suffers from the lack of a well-defined protagonist (the focus shifts from Cadillac to his pensioner nephew Jules) and from a vague and unsatisfactory climax. The author never quite succeeds in subordinating history to the demands of the narrative.

Throughout the eighteenth century, of course, French exploration and settlement continued, but the events which most strongly appeal to the novelist seem to be Pontiac's conspiracy and George Rogers Clark's march to Vincennes. Parkman's historical narrative remains the classic account of how the great Ottawa chief strove to unify the tribes and in one titanic struggle exterminate both British and colonials, but Pontiac himself is a figure that has appealed to many an imaginative romancer. Kenneth Roberts introduced him into *Northwest Passage*, 1937, depicting him as the leading Indian orator in conference with Sir William Johnson. In the hands of lesser writers he becomes a lurid figure.

Thus in Randall Parrish's melodramatic story of Fort Chartres and the assault on Detroit, *A Sword of the Old Frontier*, 1905, Pontiac is the rarely seen enemy who engineers most of the villainy. The story begins with a vivid and fairly accurate account of the Illinois Country, then carries the reader up the Illinois and Kankakee rivers and overland to Pontiac's camp, and ends with an exciting account of the white fugitives fighting their way into Major Gladwyn's fort at Detroit, their route being protected by Major Rogers and his famous Rangers. The scenes in the valley swamps and the hand-to-hand combats are well told if needlessly frequent, but the characterization is stale. The protagonist, an impoverished French noble seeking to build fame and fortune

anew, has the necessary boldness and virility and is the conventional expert swordsman. Parrish's heroines, one blonde and haughty, the other dark and vivacious, remind one of the well-established Cooper type, always contrasted and usually unreal.

Mary C. Crowley's *The Heroine of the Strait*, 1902, waters down the adventure with sentiment and rhetoric but introduces many historical figures at Detroit between 1760 and 1780 and sketches with considerable charm the life of the habitants—those French Canadians who were torn between sympathy for the dispossessed Indians and loyalty to the whites, even though they wore British uniforms. In one central episode the book violates history. According to the author it is the heroine, Angélique Cuillerier, who informs Major Gladwyn of Pontiac's impending treachery; according to history it was a friendly Indian squaw, possibly his mistress, who brought the warning to the English commandant. Miss Crowley's characters do not breathe life; even Pontiac is little more than a sinister name. But the book does achieve superficial verisimilitude.

Less can be said for Major John Richardson's *Wacousta*, 1833. Richardson, a soldier novelist, was one of the first to use western material in fiction, but his distortions of history and his fantastic plot make the book an absurdity. Although *Wacousta* is ostensibly built around the efforts of Pontiac and his braves to capture Michilimackinac and Detroit, Richardson falsifies much of the action and introduces unhistorical officers. The name of Major Gladwyn does not appear in the novel, and although Pontiac dominated the actual conspiracy it is Wacousta, a renegade Cornishman now allied with the Ottawa sachem, who is the chief villain. One could forgive such inaccuracies if the story were consequently improved. But to a modern reader *Wacousta* is a nightmare of the improbable.

Better than these tales are two dramatizations of the expedition of George Rogers Clark. They are curiously com-

plementary since one presents the action within the town of Vincennes during the British ascendancy and the other concentrates on the feat of the Kentuckians in crossing the submerged Wabash Valley. Maurice Thompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes*, 1900, is popular romance with an authentic background. Such events as the arrival of Père Gibault from Kaskaskia, the appearance of the detested Hamilton "the hair buyer" and his troops, and the successful investment of Fort Sackville by Clark's little army are dramatically told. But it is the handful of creoles in sleepy Vincennes who provide the story's main interest. Indolent but clamorous, hostile to no one and desirous mainly of continuing their careless existence, they meet British and Indians and Kentuckians with equanimity. The creole characters are the most appealing in the novel: Alice Roussillon, the heroine, who adds to her beauty and spirit an expert swordsmanship taught her by the curé himself; Papa Roussillon, rough and big, a dangerous man in a brawl; and the quiet Jesuit who suddenly develops into a master of the rapier. But Thompson invests the life of Vincennes with more than its actual charm, and his style is often inept and saccharine. When the reader reaches the end of Chapter XXIII and reads, "Suffice it to say, they lived happily ever after, or at least somewhat beyond three score and ten. . .," he is likely to feel that the Vincennes story deserved better treatment.

This it got in Winston Churchill's *The Crossing*, 1904, at least in the first part of the book. Churchill had the inspiration to make his hero the fabulous drummer boy who marched at the head of the Kentuckians and who crossed at least one torrent on the shoulders of a borderer. And it is the admiration that this lad, David Ritchie, feels for Clark that creates the interest of *The Crossing*. We follow the fortunes of the army as it assembles on the banks of the Ohio and later surrounds and takes Cahokia without a struggle. We understand and sympathize with Clark as he holds his raw frontiersmen together by superior shrewdness and faith,

as he awes the Indians convoked at Cahokia, as he marshals the troops for the savage winter march which eventually wins victory at Vincennes. Unfortunately the sweep of the narrative stops with the restoration of the American flag at Fort Sackville, and the hundreds of pages that follow, despite the broad canvas and the multifarious characters, lose focus. David Ritchie becomes a lawyer at Louisville and a lover at New Orleans. No love story mars the march on Vincennes; there is no thrilling campaign to neutralize the later love story. Moreover, Churchill's style wants sharpness and impact. He seldom improves on the plain but revealing story of the expedition which George Rogers Clark himself wrote in 1789-1790.⁶ As Professor Quinn remarked about Churchill, "There is usually no edge to his sentences, just as there is often no edge to his thinking."⁷ Readers of *Northwest Passage* will inevitably compare the feat of Clark's men with the heroic assault of Rogers's Rangers on the St. Francis Indians and will prefer the fictional craft of Kenneth Roberts.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown brought peace to the maritime colonies, but the borderer was unable to lay down his rifle for years thereafter. Indian attacks in the Northwest Territory were sporadic but continual until the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 brought a permanent peace, and the Ohio Country rang with tales of cruelty and heroism. Some of these exploits have found their way into fiction, although no major novelist has as yet utilized their drama.

In 1903 Zane Grey published the first of a long line of romances which gradually followed the frontier westward and became crassly melodramatic. *Betty Zane* is more restrained than his later work and is patently more authentic. The novel sketches the country around Wheeling, where Colonel Ebenezer Zane had chosen to settle, chronicles the rise of settlement along the Ohio, and culminates in the

⁶ See George Rogers Clark, *The Conquest of the Illinois*, edited for the Lakeside Press by Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago, 1920).

⁷ Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction* (New York and London, 1936), 501.

vicious but futile attack of Simon Girty and his Indians on Fort Henry in 1782. The reader is given a few glimpses of early social life, such as a wedding and a ball, but the scenes that stand out are those involving Lew Wetzel. Wetzel is pictured as the paragon of borderers, reticent, somber, uneasy even on the fringes of civilization, and imbued with an implacable hatred for Indians. The climax of the novel occurs when Betty Zane ventures forth from the besieged stockade to bring a sorely needed keg of powder to the defenders. In a sequel to this novel, *The Last Trail*, 1907, Grey continued the story of the Zanes, with Colonel Ebenezer Zane and his brother Jonathan dominating the action and with Lew Wetzel again appearing as the scout fired to extraordinary feats by his inveterate and deeply-rooted hostility toward the savages. At the end of the novel, with Shawnees and Delawares finally subdued, Colonel Zane feels that he has accomplished for West Virginia and Ohio what Daniel Boone had done for Kentucky.

The two events of the late eighteenth century which have appealed most to romancers are the defeat suffered by Arthur St. Clair in 1791 near the upper Wabash River and General Wayne's campaign which resulted in the victory of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Despite its title, James Ball Naylor's *In the Days of St. Clair*, 1902, has little to do with the unfortunate general but instead gives a picture of the settlements at Marietta and along the Muskingum. Some of the atmosphere is realistic but the love rivalry is both trite and absurd. Another novel by Naylor, *Under Mad Anthony's Banner*, 1903, focuses on the gathering and training of Wayne's army and his successful battle with the Indians under Blue Jacket. The love interest is distinctly subordinate here, while the technique is crude and the point of view shifts quickly and illogically. Lew Wetzel is again a conspicuous figure, but the novelist puts unnatural soliloquies into the mouth of this taciturn Indian hater and in general fails to sketch a very convincing picture.

In Burton Stevenson's *The Heritage*, 1902, the action begins in tidewater Virginia but soon shifts to Marietta where the central figures of the story join St. Clair's army. This novel presents rather clear details of the obstacles confronting the general: unreliable subordinates, delays and incompetence, rebellious troops, inadequate and faulty supplies. St. Clair himself is depicted as able and honest but handicapped by age and illness. Even in defeat his tactics were commendable but his men were poorly trained and badly officered. The action of the novel continues until *Fallen Timbers* with the usual seasoning of captivity and escape. *The Heritage* is accurate in detail, but its summarized rather than dramatized action and its wooden characters do not speak well for the art of its creator. Charles S. Wood's *On the Frontier with St. Clair*, 1902, is a boy's story, sketchily and baldly written. Its most interesting quality is the author's attempt to exonerate St. Clair and to present him as something other than an incompetent and senile general. A much earlier novel, Emerson Bennett's *The Pioneer's Daughter*, 1851, begins with the defeat and chronicles the attempt, finally successful, of a colonel and his friends to rescue several women whom the Indians had captured. Like most of Bennett's work the novel is rapid and sensational; the author never had time to analyze his characters or motivate their actions.

More interesting than any of the preceding stories because of its unconventional approach is Thomas Boyd's *Shadow of the Long Knives*, 1928. The protagonist, Angus McDermott, is introduced to us first during Lord Dunmore's War. As an agent of the Virginia governor he penetrates into the Ohio Country and soon becomes associated with Colonel Matthew Elliott at Detroit. Throughout the post-Revolutionary days McDermott serves the British and endeavors to confederate the Indians against the threatening "long knives." But eventually his own son joins General Wayne, and after *Fallen Timbers* McDermott realizes for

the first time that he has been actually opposing the country of his birth. Thus, "Born a Pennsylvanian, by environment a Seneca, by service a man of Dunmore's and Colonel Elliott's, he was now an American."⁸ Boyd's story is plainly written and does not always succeed in integrating history with romance, but the blunt style is a pleasing contrast to the flatulency of other romances.

Meade Minnigerode's *Black Forest*, 1937, is an ambitious and episodic novel which covers a period of thirty years and takes its characters from Kaskaskia to Fort Duquesne and from Vincennes to Philadelphia. Angus Drumlin is an employee of George Croghan (whose activities and theories about land companies demand a fair share of the book) and as a consequence sees much of the western country on various missions. His romantic elopement with Solange Monvel at Kaskaskia and his subsequent pursuit of his wife's murderer provide the main theme, although Drumlin manages to be at various places at critical times. The novel is loosely constructed and, like Boyd's tale, does not synthesize its facts with its fiction. Minnigerode knows too much of the history of land speculation during the Revolution to be content merely to spin a tale. But despite editorial interpolations *Black Forest* does give one the feeling of a period in American history.

Probably no figure of the early Middle West has a more perennial fascination for storytellers than Tecumseh, and certainly no Indian theme is more attractive than the grand conspiracy which he and his brother the Shawnee Prophet conceived. Like Pontiac, Tecumseh envisaged a powerful union of red men to stop the encroachments of the settlers and, with British help, to drive them back across the Alleghenies. The Wabash Valley, he argued, should be Shawnee territory *in perpetuum*. It was Tecumseh's tragedy that Tippecanoe was fought prematurely and in his absence; he was not at hand to rally his dwindling and disheartened fol-

⁸ Thomas Boyd, *Shadow of the Long Knives* (New York, 1935), 350.

lowers. At the subsequent Battle of the Thames, Tecumseh courageously led a forlorn hope and died on the field while Proctor, the British general, fled in disgrace.

One of the earliest fictional treatments of this theme is *Elkswatawa; or, The Prophet of the West*, published anonymously in 1836 but long since attributed to James S. French. *Elkswatawa* concerns an abducted girl, two Kentucky hunters, Tecumseh and the Prophet, Harrison's army, and Tippecanoe. In locale the novel ranges from the Ohio River near Shawneetown to Rainy Lake and the Red River, and from Lake Superior to the Prophet's Town. The author in his preface remarked that he had tried to make both his Indians and his borderers speak naturally and not in the stilted tropes so often put into their mouths, but his theory was better than his practice.⁹ The most interesting character is the Prophet, represented as a shrewd, able, but cowardly leader who accomplished a moral change in his followers. Tecumseh is also drawn clearly as the orator and man of action of the conspiracy. But the passages dealing with the Shawnee brothers are expository and not narrative; they are not well integrated with the rest of the story.

In 1842 appeared Mrs. Anna L. Snelling's *Kabaosa; or, The Warriors of the West*, a book likewise focused on Tippecanoe but as a narrative even more chaotic and tangential than *Elkswatawa*. Set chiefly in the territory around Vincennes the plot is so complicated and so abrupt in its changes of scenes and figures that it defies summary. Mrs. Snelling knew almost nothing of fictional structure and was unable to project characters convincingly upon paper. Her idea of writing historical fiction about middle western material was admirable, but she simply lacked the ability to fulfill her task. By the time the reader reaches her paean to William

⁹ The supposedly uncouth hunter Earthquake says to his companion, "Then nerve yourself for a conquest, if necessary, and let us see who venture here at this hour of the night. Who knows but this may furnish some clue to the lost maiden" (*Elkswatawa*, I: 133). After this passage the reader is not unprepared to find Earthquake shedding copious tears upon more than one occasion.

Henry Harrison, the Washington of the West, he is happy to drop the book. A more recent treatment of Tecumseh's conspiracy is James Ball Naylor's *The Sign of the Prophet*, 1901. Here Tippecanoe is the beginning, not the climax, and the narrative includes Proctor's assault on Fort Meigs as well as Tecumseh's death. Harrison is accorded the accolade of a hero, but the character who stands out is again the Shawnee Prophet.¹⁰ His use of magic and trickery, his wily deceptions, his ingenuity in working on the superstitious fears of the savages provide an unusual story. The main narrative concerns a young hunter, a loquacious borderer, and a friendly Wyandot to balance the malignant Shawnees and Winnebagoes. The heroine, who masquerades as the Prophet's daughter, enters the story late and adds nothing in interest or charm.

The naval action on Lake Erie which was in a sense complementary to Tecumseh's exploits on land has also appealed to novelists. A. G. Riddle in *The Tory's Daughter*, 1888, wrote a confused and clumsy account of the war climaxed by the Battle of the Thames. Tecumseh, although not a central figure, is given high praise for intelligence and humanitarianism, and Isaac Brock and William Henry Harrison are also eulogized. The romance itself is full of puerile sentiment and vague rhetoric, and at the end the daughter of a dispossessed Boston Tory becomes the wife of an American patriot. Much better is Robert S. Harper's *Trumpet in the Wilderness*, 1940, the protagonist of which enlists in an Ohio regiment of volunteers, participates in General Hull's disgraceful surrender at Detroit, and then wanders to Presque Isle where Commodore Perry is building a fleet. The best part of the book is the participation of Jubal Johnson in the Battle of Lake Erie, an episode told with considerable color and vigor. Jubal Johnson's romance with the daughter of a frontier doctor is unconvincing and almost secondary, but

¹⁰ The difficulty of transliterating Indian names is illustrated here by the fact that each of these novelists uses a different cognomen for the Prophet: Elkswatawa (French), Oliwachica (Mrs. Snelling), and Tenskwatawa (Naylor).

the book gives excellent vignettes of life in northern and western Ohio during the War of 1812.

Another novel which reproduces some of the atmosphere of those troubled times although it does not focus on any particular historical event is James Fenimore Cooper's *Oak Openings*, 1848, set along the Kalamazoo River in southern Michigan in 1812. The hero of the story is a bee hunter who practices his trade where the hardwood forests are interspersed with small prairies. His peace is interrupted by news of the outbreak of war, and the bulk of the book is given over to the various ramifications of Cooper's typical flight-pursuit formula. Before the whites escape the hostile Potawatomies they circumnavigate the lower peninsula of Michigan in a canoe and eventually reach safety via the Detroit River and Lake Erie. Compared with the earlier *Leatherstocking Tales* *Oak Openings* is prolix and digressive. Cooper not only moralizes but editorializes on the various aspects of democracy, halting the narrative as he pours forth his spleen. Nevertheless, the book gives striking pictures of a beautiful and primitive wilderness.

One of the western episodes of the War of 1812 was the massacre at the site of the future Chicago. On August 15, 1812, a horde of savages descended on the garrison of Fort Dearborn, killing Captain William Wells, capturing Captain Heald and Lieutenant Helm, and slaughtering soldiers and civilians. The carnage itself bespeaks the complete success of the treachery of the Potawatomies. Probably no Indian assault was more completely triumphant. Among the novels dealing with the massacre is Randall Parrish's *When Wilderness Was King*, 1904, a story of Captain Wells's arrival at the fort and of the events immediately preceding the evacuation of the stockade. Many historical characters figure in the plot, including the commandant Captain Heald, the celebrated Indian agent John Kinzie, and the friendly chieftain Black Partridge, whose warning was disregarded. The romance involves the rivalry between a western youth and an

absurd French dandy (whose Negro servant provides him at the proper moment with rouge, lavender water, hair powder, and a curling iron) for the hand of Toinette, the daughter of a fort officer. This love duel is settled when the Frenchman's long-lost wife reappears. Despite an absurd plot, the novel has some verisimilitude. The massacre is dramatically presented, and there are realistic scenes of camp and garrison life. Parrish's style is mediocre but his narrative is clear and tense.

A feeblar treatment of the same theme is Myrtle Reed's *The Shadow of Victory*, 1903, which subordinates the main event to domestic life. To a historically minded reader the chief value of the book is its picture of the dissension within the garrison. Although the names of the officers and even of John Kinzie are disguised, the concealment is transparent, and one gains an unpleasant impression of insubordinate subalterns and an incompetent commandant. Major John Richardson twice novelized the Fort Dearborn massacre, in *Hardscrabble; or, The Fall of Chicago*, 1856, and *Wau-nan-gee; or, The Massacre at Chicago*, 1852, but neither book deserves serious comment.¹¹ The activity along the Chicago River also figures in the long, panoramic novel of Louis Zara entitled *This Land of Ours*, 1940. The hero, Andrew Benton, hears of Braddock's massacre at the age of seven; as a young man he is captured by Indians near Detroit and lives in captivity long enough to wed a daughter of the tribe; later he participates in Wayne's march and in Harrison's campaign and, as an old man, nearly loses his life in the Fort Dearborn massacre. The novel is studded with historical figures and incidents and presents an opulent picture of the westward movement.

¹¹ All these books are probably indebted to the story of the Chicago massacre as told by Mrs. John H. Kinzie in *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the North-West*, especially Chapters XVIII and XIX. This book was originally published in 1856 but the massacre narrative had appeared in pamphlet form twelve years earlier and was merely incorporated in *Wau-Bun*. There are several recent editions of Mrs. Kinzie's autobiographical story of her life at Fort Winnebago. See, for example, the edition of Milo Milton Quaife issued by the Lakeside Press in 1932.

One of the warriors who supported Tecumseh both in triumph and defeat, the great Sac chieftain Black Hawk, later became the central figure in another Indian war, the campaign of 1832 in the Rock River Valley. This ignominious affair, which began with the rout of white militia and ended with the slaughtering of defenseless Indians and their families, serves as the climax to a novel by Richard Hallet called *Michael Beam*, 1939. The protagonist flees from Chilli-cothe, Ohio, to Mackinac Island, where he enters the employ of the American Fur Company. Later he settles in northwestern Illinois and founds a town on the Illinois River. The novel has some reality in setting and idiom, but the romance in which Michael fluctuates between a banker's niece and an Indian maiden is fantastically unconvincing. Moreover, the author's notions of Indian psychology seem somewhat perverse. Iola Fuller's *The Shining Trail*, 1943, also set against the background of the Black Hawk War, seems much more authentic. Told with great sympathy for the Indians, victimized as always by white avarice, the novel concentrates on Black Hawk and his adopted son, Chaske, and follows the jagged path which brought the once powerful Sac nation to disaster. This historical pattern is familiar, but Miss Fuller's feeling for and knowledge of Indian tradition is what gives the novel its real substance.

The same material figures in August Derleth's *Wind Over Wisconsin*, 1938, a novel set chiefly along the Wisconsin River with a few vivid scenes at Prairie du Chien. Derleth chose as his theme the gradual disappearance of the fur trade and the beginnings of agriculture on the great prairie of the Sacs. The protagonist, Chalfonte Pierneau, resides in a fort-like, almost baronial house on the bluffs of the Wisconsin and there carries on his fur business. Friendly to the Indians, respected by soldiers and civilians alike, he lives in comparative security until Black Hawk leads his Sacs back across the Mississippi and land-seekers impinge upon his isolation. He himself realizes, sadly, that the fur business is doomed,

but it is Hercules Dousman, the agent at Prairie du Chien of Astor's American Fur Company, who persuades him to turn from buying peltries to raising wheat. In *Bright Journey*, 1940, Derleth has fictionized the life of Dousman, who left his paternal home on Mackinac Island at the behest of Ramsay Crooks to become a partner in the fur depot at Prairie du Chien, "where the waters meet." The novel is more accurate and less dramatic than *Wind Over Wisconsin*, but its opulence of detail and its revelation of Dousman's loyalty to his partner Joe Rolette and his discreet admiration of Rolette's young wife are genuine merits. Derleth's novels are the work of a writer who understands and loves his scene. Their simple plots are a peg on which to hang sympathetic descriptions of the valley, the river, and the casual life of the fur era. In none of the novels previously discussed have characters and background blended so harmoniously.¹²

Reference to the fur trade suggests that few writers have yet utilized its fictional possibilities. Possibly the very extent of the canvas has proved troublesome. But an even greater obstacle has been the temptation of novelists to emphasize the ruthlessness of the fur barons, to play up the occasional gaudy melodrama of voyageur life and to forget the hard, dull routine. Thus Neil H. Swanson's *The Forbidden Ground*, 1938, would satisfy the demands of a Hollywood scenario writer intent on action but is little more than lurid sensationalism. Barred from the Detroit area by British edict, Swanson's hero flees northwest, across Lake Superior and past Grand Portage into the Pigeon River country. Here he achieves fantastic deeds and becomes involved in a war of extermination between rival fur companies. Eventually through boldness and good fortune he wins security. Swanson's material is fresh but in handling it he shows little art and no discrimination. A much sounder work is Iola Fuller's *Loon Feather*, 1940, the fictional autobiography of Oneta,

¹² Derleth's book, *The Wisconsin*, is one of the best of the *Rivers of America* Series for this very reason: he knows intimately the locale of his story and he writes of it with assurance and charm.

daughter of Tecumseh. The novel does not penetrate deeply into motivation but gives an excellent picture of the Indian tribes which congregated on the back of the Great Turtle to fish, to exchange furs, to peddle gossip, to bargain with the whites, and to receive their gold. Details of Indian cookery, of sugar-making, of corn-planting, and harvest are told with a quiet realism which is singularly attractive, and the cosmopolitan peoples of Mackinac Island are presented with shrewdness and understanding. If the author had been able to endow Oneta with greater vitality, *Loon Feather* would rank as one of our best fictional depictions of the Indian.

Julia Cooley Altrocchi's *Wolves Against the Moon*, 1940, is much more pretentious and is somewhat weakened by its enormous scope. This chronicle of the life of Joseph Bailly, entrepreneur of the fur trade, opens in 1794 when Bailly is a lad in Quebec attending a New Year's Eve Ball. But he is restive and ambitious and soon heads westward. He goes to Mackinac, to the Lake Superior country, to the St. Joseph and Little Calumet rivers, to Detroit and St. Louis, to Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Eventually he settles down in what is now Porter County, Indiana, where the remains of the Bailly homestead may still be seen. *Wolves Against the Moon* is both episodic and panoramic. The kaleidoscopic nature of the story accounts for its merits as well as its faults. Individual scenes such as the fire and the cholera epidemic at Detroit, Bailly's trial for violation of his license as a fur trader, and meetings and councils at Parc aux Vaches stand out, but there is no closely-knit sequence. Moreover, the introduction of many historical figures crowds the stage and impedes the narrative flow; the author's evident intention to have Bailly present at every important event in the history of the Middle West for some thirty years grows irksome. Nevertheless, the novel weaves a rich tapestry of the fur trade. Here are tribal dissensions, the sinister influence of foreign agents and rival fur companies, the restlessness of Indian clans, the inexorable westward push of the settlers,

the efforts of the French to adjust themselves to a new regime. Joseph Bailly, like Hercules Dousman, could anticipate the future; those who could not were squeezed out.

Another novel with the fur trade as a background but which is really concerned with the saga of a family is Janet Lewis's *The Invasion*, 1932. About 1791 John Johnston, scion of a northern Irish family, came to the Apostle Islands as an independent trader. He fell in love with the daughter of the famous Ojibway chief, Waub-ojeeg, married her, and took her to the Sault Ste. Marie to live. There the Johnston family became celebrated. For a number of years the fur business proved extremely profitable and John Johnston was able not only to support his wife and his growing family comfortably but to import the glass and china, the clothes, and the books which he as a civilized gentleman demanded. He educated his half-breed children well and one of them, Jane Johnston, became the wife of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. To all who visited or knew her she was remarkable for her charm and for her dark, fragile beauty. This is the material of *The Invasion*, a novel without sequence other than time, without a central character, and without successful structure. Miss Lewis is handicapped by the historicity of her material. She avoids dialogue but brings in long expository passages about the formation of the X Y Company and the bickerings of Lord Selkirk. In small details, however, the novel is meticulous and rich. Descriptions of dress fill its pages. We are given interesting and full accounts of Indian ceremonies, customs, religion, of the fur trade, of life at the Sault. And there are several colorful portraits of the men who once figured in the drama of the upper lakes, John Tanner, Governor Cass, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.

With the decline of the fur trade and the transference or extermination of the Indian tribes, the history of the Middle West gradually changed from the purely military and political to the economic. In the south and east where the battle over slavery for a time crystallized popular attention, the

Negro question was dramatized in such novels as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But in the Middle West novelists seldom chose to write against an abolitionist or proslavery background. Even the Civil War did not impinge largely on the consciousness of middle western storytellers, probably because nearly all the fighting took place south of the Ohio.¹³ The character and fame of Abraham Lincoln, however, and especially the Illinois part of his story appealed to more than one writer.

Lincoln appears, often in a shadowy or indirect way, in a good many novels purporting to give the spirit of the past. He is less commonly the protagonist or even a significant character in the story, but when he serves such a purpose the author can seldom forget Lincoln's later grandeur sufficiently to draw a human portrait. Two novels may serve to illustrate these different methods. In Eggleston's *The Graysons*, 1888, we are given an accurate picture of early life in Illinois. The Graysons are moderately successful farmers, and Tom Grayson becomes the defendant in a murder case. Lincoln enters the story as the lawyer who frees his client by leading the principal prosecution witness to swear that he saw the shooting by moonlight on a night when there was no moon. In Irving Bacheller's *A Man For the Ages*, 1919, the story centers around Samson Traylor and his wife, emigrants from Vermont to the Sangamon country, but Lincoln dominates the narrative throughout. We see him as the proverbial rail-splitter and country storekeeper, as the rough-and-tumble wrestler, as the incipient orator and politician. Whenever he speaks he becomes anecdotal, telling his homely but moralistic stories and constantly impressing his auditors by his sanity and wisdom. His awkwardness, his loneliness, and his grief over the death of Ann Rutledge are also shown, to

¹³ Hamlin Garland's famous short story, "The Return of a Private," is one memorable example of fiction which links the Civil War to the Middle West. Joseph Kirkland's novel, *The Captain of Company K*, deals with Illinois soldiers, but its incidents are those of the campaign eventuating in the Battle of Shiloh. Winston Churchill's *The Crisis* presents the strong secessionist feeling in St. Louis during the Civil War and the confused conditions in Missouri. The atmosphere of the book is naturally more southern than middle western. There are good portraits of Sherman, Grant, and particularly Lincoln, whose gaucheries are emphasized.

be sure, but there remains etched upon the retina of the reader the portrait of a man who is always conscious that he stands on the threshold of fame. Bacheller's book is even more unreal because of his introduction of figures like Peter Cartwright and Stephen A. Douglas solely because of their historic importance. Neither of these novels achieves real significance.

On the other hand, Bruce Lancaster's *For Us the Living*, 1940, is a remarkably effective recreation of life in Spencer County, Indiana, and the New Salem environment. Nominally the hero is Hugh Brace, son of a "mover" from Kentucky who is lured across the Ohio by the promise of better land. The squatters and farmers around Gentryville, Indiana, raise a little corn and cotton, live on venison or pork and cornbread, wear shirts and moccasins made of deer hide, and "talk buckskin." Hugh works hard and, especially after his father deserts the cabin, quite profitably. One of his chums is young Abe "Linkern"—lanky, spiky-haired, already, as one of the other characters phrases it, "suthin' peculiar-some." Hugh and Abe work and joke together, and Abe with his thirst for learning imparts some of his small accomplishment to his friend. Later both migrate to the Sangamon Valley where Hugh becomes a prosperous wagoner and Abe is launched on his variegated career of storekeeper, soldier, postmaster, and politician. The novel ends shortly after the two return from the Black Hawk War, with Abe ready to begin his campaign for a seat in the legislature. The best part of the novel is its realism, dialogue authentic even in the solecisms and profanity, characters natural and earthy, backgrounds clear and primitive. There is little suspense and the plot lacks tautness, but the book is highly successful in presenting a panorama of life in Indiana and Illinois in the 1820's.

There is one other theme which is germane at this point—town-building. Particularly in recent years have novelists become aware of the artistic possibilities inherent in the

chronicle of a town. And their books have dealt impartially with various sections of the Middle West, with Ohio and Illinois, with Minnesota and the Dakotas. Merle Colby's *New Road*, 1933, is a shrewd and lively account of the growth of a hamlet near the Maumee River. A young easterner striving to locate a large tract of land which had been deeded to an ancestor meets a young widow, and the two raise a cabin near the old trace. Subsequently other settlers arrive, farmers, artisans, professional men, until the community achieves stability and wealth. But prosperity is temporary. A crop blight and the exploitation of western land incite many settlers to pull up stakes. Martin Ward, the builder, remains, and around him and a small group of the faithful the town settles down to a slow but gradual development. Colby's novel, written with humor and insight, is particularly vivid in its picture of the conflict between Ward and the squatters, whom the town-builder does not want in the community of his dreams. Many another western town owes its origin to a cabin or inn located where a Conestoga wagon bogged down in the mud.

In *The Tide of Time*, 1937, Edgar Lee Masters pictures the rise of a community in central Illinois but his story is both prolix and dull. In Harold Sinclair's *American Years*, 1938, the focal point is the opening of a crossroads store. To this dot on the map of Illinois gravitate farmers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, editors, ministers, politicians. Some drift farther west but others stay. Eventually the railroad penetrates into Dane County and the town of Everton (Bloomington) is incorporated as the county seat. Everton sends its citizens to the Black Hawk War, to Mexico, and raw recruits and untrained officers relate their experience. Celebrities appear, Lincoln, Judge Davis, Herndon, Peter Cartwright; but as in the *Spoon River Anthology* there is no central character—the town is the protagonist. *American Years* gives a remarkable picture of the growth of a town by accretion.¹⁴

¹⁴ Sinclair continued the story in *Years of Growth*, 1940, and *Years of Illusion*, 1941, suc-

Farther west the process was repeated. Mark Schorer, in *A House Too Old*, 1935, presents a psychological portrait of a woman whose passion for wealth numbs her social relationships; the town background is secondary. But his account of the progress of Sacton (Sauk City) on the Wisconsin River, while meant as an interlude, contains the best writing in the book.¹⁵ In *The Dollar Gold Piece*, 1942, Virginia Swain reconstructs the Kansas City of the early days, weaving her romantic story among details of real estate promotion, rail-roading, and the stockyards. Frontier types emerge clearly from this account of the evolution of a western metropolis. J. Hyatt Downing depicts in *Sioux City*, 1940, the growth of the packing center of northwestern Iowa, with special emphasis on its boom period. Stressing the character of Anthony Trant, the young college graduate who is determined to become wealthy even at the expense of social convention, the novel revolves around the real estate transactions which made Sioux City life exciting in the 1880's. Promoters pushed an elevated railway, and President Cleveland came by special train to open the fabulous Corn Palace. Much of the novel concerns Trant's love affairs, but he is fundamentally so cold and egotistic, so wrapped up in money-making, that his history merges with that of the city.

In *The Boom of a Western City*, 1897, Ellen Hodges Cooley describes the trip of a Vermont couple lured by the prospects of easy money to Fargo in 1878. Despite crude structure the book gives some graphic details of the hysteria which affected the prairie speculators and of the jerry-built houses in which visitors were forced to dwell. The laws and affectations of feminine society are likewise described and satirized. In *The Mystery of Metropolisville*, 1873, Edward Eggleston did the same thing for a Minnesota hamlet in the panic of 1857.

cessful in part but with the usual disadvantages of sequels. In *A Prairie Grove*, 1938, Donald Culross Peattie attempted somewhat the same thing but his interest in botany and silviculture led him to slight the human interest of his story.

¹⁵ *One Stayed at Welcome*, 1934, by Maud and Delos Lovelace concerns the growth of a Minnesota hamlet, the original settlers being a Vermont farmer and a Kentucky hunter. There is much local color in the tale, but the plot is thin and the style dull.

With firmer touch Eggleston presents the spirit of a boom town with railroads about to appear, real estate changing hands over night, and a feverish interest in construction projects. More recently William Harlowe Briggs in *Dakota in the Morning*, 1942, chose to picture a prairie community near Aberdeen, South Dakota. His novel expresses the confidence of a young Michigan lawyer in the land as well as the Colonel Sellers-like optimism which makes a temporary town out of Siding Number Three. But fire and drought take their inevitable toll; few buildings survive the conflagration and only the hardy souls dare to brave the hot, arid winds. When the Sibley family returns to Michigan, it has little to show for its courageous venture upon the prairies.

These chronicles of town growth for the most part concern middle western villages and main streets. But there are other novels which deal with what Stuart Chase has called megalopolis. Various municipalities have had their fictional historians, yet here as elsewhere Chicago, hog-butcher and city of steel, dominates the scene. It has not only served as model and theme for a multitude of writers; it has also molded its storytellers from Henry Fuller and Robert Herrick to Richard Wright and James Farrell.

A good many novels which were written about contemporary conditions have assumed genuine historical value as pictures of the older Chicago. One thinks of Fuller's *Cliff-Dwellers*, 1893, a realistic study of social and financial life about the time of the erection of the first skyscrapers. Or of Robert Herrick's *Memoirs of an American Citizen*, 1905, the autobiographical story of a man who by persistence and unscrupulousness rises from a farm through the meat-packing business to the office of senator. Or of Upton Sinclair's notorious *The Jungle*, 1906, the famous exposé of stockyards methods and malpractice which stimulated pure food and meat legislation. Or of Frank Norris's *The Pit*, 1903, the revealing picture of speculation on the Chicago wheat exchange and the colossal failure of the operator who tried to

corner the market. Or even of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*, 1900, and its record of the country girl who is seduced by a drummer, becomes the mistress of an absconding saloon keeper, and reaches the New York stage, yet manages to retain her essential naiveté. As James T. Farrell recently observed, "*Sister Carrie* is saturated with the life of America during the Eighteen Eighties and the Eighteen Nineties. It truly recreates a sense of an epoch."¹⁶ All these books provide sharp commentary on the business and social life of Chicago at the turn of the century, and all record a multiplicity of details for the historian.

Of novels deliberately written to recreate the past, two stand out. Margaret Ayer Barnes's *Years of Grace*, 1930, begins with the World's Fair period and continues down to the postwar era. It is rich in purely feminine detail, fabrics, costumes, balls and excursions, foods, social decorum, and at least in the beginning it gives a realistic impression of that part of the city adjacent to Rush Street and the Water Tower. But most of the book is concerned with family problems and the background is slighted. Janet Ayer Fairbank's *The Smiths*, 1925, is much more richly historical. The story begins in the closing years of the Civil War with Peter Smith, an ex-Union soldier, entering the iron business. He is energetic and progressive, and his ability to anticipate the growth of the steel industry soon brings him wealth. With the aid of his wife's inheritance and his partner's bonanza he weathers both fire and panic, and at the end of his life Smith has difficulty in spending the fortune derived from the sale of his business to the United States Steel Corporation. The novel has two genuine merits: one is its account of the dissension bound to develop between husband and wife when different interests strain the marital partnership; the other is its remarkable panoramic view of Chicago. Through carefully chosen details the author portrays the progress of Chicago from provincial city to metropolis. We

¹⁶ *New York Times Book Review* (July 4, 1943), p. 3.

see the rise of heavy industry, shifts in surface transportation from fast horses to the trolley and the automobile, changes in the business section of the city; we glimpse also the social life of the era between the panic of 1873 and the Bull Moose convention of 1912. Teas, dinners, concerts, receptions are all flashed upon a screen. It is true that the society pictured here is bourgeois and that the characters belong to the moneyed classes. The reader gets almost no idea of working class life. But with this limitation the book is accurate. *The Smiths* is not a brilliant novel, but it is exceptional in that it narrates a story interesting in itself against a background which is fundamentally real.¹⁷

II. NOVELS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The novel which depicts social and economic life is rarely as exciting as that concerned with war and politics, but often it yields a truer insight into earlier epochs. Certainly the details it presents of farming, home life, schooling, transportation are of great value in communicating to the reader the feel of the past. Moreover, although the characters may lack heroic stature they seem natural and human, and their problems are routine and perennial.

The primary problem of the settler is to work the land, in the timbered sections to fell the trees and clear the soil for the plow, in the prairie areas to turn over the rich, matted grass and transform the rolling fields into a granary. And in retrospect this is the material which has fascinated many middle western novelists. Scores of novels have dealt with various aspects of this tremendous exploitation and have pictured the frontiersmen, squatters, and settlers who shouldered their way across the Mississippi Valley. With such a surplusage available one can select only a few titles.

There is no better account of pioneer life in the heavy timber of the Ohio Country than Conrad Richter's *The Trees*,

¹⁷ Janet Ayer Fairbank continued the story of *The Smiths* in *Rich Man, Poor Man*, 1936, the protagonist of which is a grandson of Peter Smith.

1940. The Luckett family has the proverbial "itching foot" and is happiest when most unsettled. The father, part Indian, prowls contentedly around the forest; the mother dies from consumption and hatred of the dark, massive boles that surround her; the children fend for themselves and become true "woodsies." Richter tells his tale completely in the idiom of the past, and this accuracy of language plus his knowledge of the Luckett way of life results in a remarkable picture of a forest home.

Louis Bromfield's *The Farm*, 1933, is a fuller and more comprehensive attempt to chronicle the genesis of an Ohio farm, beginning with virgin soil in 1815 and ending with an industrial town obliterating the last vestiges of rural origin in 1914. Bromfield's story covers much more than mere farming since it includes religious growth, slavery, racial antipathies, politics; and the author insists that two basic traits—integrity and idealism—which explained the community's growth and have since vanished will reappear. But in essence it is a rather bitter saga of the utilization of the land.

Central Illinois is the locale of one of the best of the novels portraying early farm life, Joseph Kirkland's *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County*, 1887. The characterization here is excellent. Zury's parsimony, his sharp bargaining, his industry and intelligence establish him as a person, and Kirkland's care in recording the speech of his characters as well as in describing the background makes for complete authenticity. It would have been easy to caricature Zury as sordid and miserly; instead we are shown his fundamental honesty and a certain latent humanitarianism.

Iowa also has had its farm chroniclers intent on preserving the rural life of early statehood. Josephine Donovan's *Black Soil*, 1930, is realistic in small details but superficial. The Boston Catholics who migrate to northwestern Iowa and there hew a farm from the prairie sod are seldom presented in three dimensions, but the story is accurate in farming procedures, in details of cookery and dress, and in its

account of community matters such as a school. Artistically it is weakened by the author's determination to carry all her characters successfully through to the end. Herbert Quick's sequence of Iowa novels, particularly *Vandemark's Folly*, 1922, and *The Hawkeye*, 1923, is much stronger work. Although at times too highly colored, Quick's novels are rich and interesting. His Dutch immigrant hero grows up with the young state, experiences the Civil War, panics, cattle rustlers, the agrarian discontent finally canalized into Populism. But despite all such obstacles Jake Vandemark grows wealthy and respected. In *The Hawkeye* it is Fremont McConkey who gives focus to the story of frontier farming and politics. There is much discussion of railroad arrogance, of corrupt government, of the Farmer's Alliance. And if the book is crammed overly full of local color it is nevertheless natural and indigenous. Moreover, Quick's sincere feeling for the land behind his plots is always apparent. Few writers have pictured more poetically the color of the prairies in spring.

A more sentimental novel than any of the preceding is Bess Streeter Aldrich's *A Lantern in Her Hand*, 1928. This popular romance tells the story of Abbie Deal who, as a young wife in the 1860's, homesteads on the Nebraska prairies not far from the present city of Lincoln. There she and her husband experience the whole gamut of frontier life, drought, grasshoppers, dust storms, blizzards, but remain loyal to each other and to their family. "Yes," Abbie remarks, "I think that is what love is to a woman . . . a lantern in her hand."¹⁸ And true to her faith she dies an old woman, alone, in the house she and her husband had made possible.

In *Slogum House*, 1937, Mari Sandoz' unpleasant story of the Nebraska cattle range, one gets the reverse of the picture. Gulla Slogum is a successful woman, too, but only

¹⁸ Bess Streeter Aldrich, *A Lantern in Her Hand* (New York and London, 1928), 256.

after having turned her children into prostitutes and criminals and after having accumulated a great quantity of land by foreclosing mortgages, and by bribery and theft. Not only her family but also the whole community learns to dread her dictatorial ways. Miss Sandoz has poured into this novel a vast amount of information about early ranching, dry land farming, riparian rights, vigilante government, and crude social life. Often the exposition deters the story. But one puts down the book with a clear notion of some aspects of range life in early Nebraska, and Gulla Slogum, unfortunately, lingers in the reader's mind. 584509

In scope, in depth, in general merit, however, none of these novels rival the famous *Giants in the Earth*, 1927, of O. E. Rolvaag. The Norwegian novelist was primarily interested in the psychology of his characters, not in description of the background. Nevertheless, this story of Norwegian immigrants on the prairies of South Dakota has already become a classic record of the westward movement. Per Hansa is the extrovert, confident, energetic, demonstrably a leader in whatever community he joins; his wife Beret is introspective, fearful, querulous because for miles around there is nothing to hide behind. Inevitably the two clash, Beret approaches insanity, and Per Hansa meets death in a blizzard which he has braved in order to find solace for a dying friend. Despite Rolvaag's concentration on his characters *Giants in the Earth* is a wonderfully revealing chronicle of an early prairie settlement. The details are not only sharp and realistic but they blend into the story of human life with its frustrations and its triumphs so that the novel achieves an artistic unity which is admirable. Rolvaag's book is historically sound; it is also psychological analysis of genuine distinction.

Farming is of course not the only salient theme. Other novelists have chosen mining, lumbering, transportation as their backgrounds. On the whole, these subjects have been inadequately treated, but there are a few novels which pre-

serve with some vividness the beginnings of middle western economic life. James M. Goodhue's *Struck a Lead*, 1883 (published in the *Galena Gazette* some thirty years earlier) is crude work but has some interest because of its scene, the Illinois-Wisconsin lead mining district centering around Galena. It was to this country, once the home land of the Winnebago, that hundreds of tough and insistent miners came about the time of the Black Hawk War, and it was their avarice and ruthlessness that precipitated more than one Indian "incident." Goodhue's novel is quite lacking in artistry but it does give a clear exposition of lead mining in the 1840's. A recent story by Janet Ayer Fairbank, *The Bright Land*, 1932, is also set in Galena and gives a few vignettes of lead mining. The hero has made his fortune from "the diggings" and is enthusiastic about the future of the western country. Little is told of the actual mining, but we hear of Cornish miners and we see the piles of metal lying on the Galena wharves awaiting shipment down the river. The crux of the book is the impact of Galena and its hospitable society on Abby-Delight Blanchard, a New England girl nurtured in a strict household. The novel depicts the years of free soil controversy and of war and describes the triumphal return of General Grant to his home town. At the end, Abby-Delight is an old woman, content to live out her life in a western city whose destiny has been obscured.

A different kind of mining affords the background for a novel by James North Wright, *Where Copper Was King*, 1905. For a good many years both Indians and whites had been aware of the existence of copper along the south shore of Lake Superior, and there had been sporadic attempts to extract some of the metal. Wright's novel tells of a mine in the northern peninsula of Michigan during the 1860's. Although it has the touch of conventional romance (the heroine saving the hero's life in a mine disaster), the book is interesting chiefly as a picture of mining activities and operations. We are shown the shafts, the shoring up of pas-

sages, the methods of hauling out rocks and debris, the use of winches and ladders, the constant danger of fire or explosions. There is even a strike, which is finally settled by the arrest of the ringleaders and their imprisonment for obstructing labor. As a novel the book lacks structure and suspense, but as a sketch of early copper mining it has definite merit.

The iron range of northern Minnesota is the setting for G. R. Bailey's *The Red Mesabi*, 1930. With exact knowledge the author describes both open pit and shaft mining, pictures the ore cars trundling along past the red-stained miners, and reveals a little of the caste system bred by the polyglot, heterogeneous peoples of the Mesabi range. The contempt of the bosses for the Scandinavian, Polish, and Slavic workers is not, one fears, limited to books. As a novel this story has genuine strength. The style is firm and vigorous, and a few of the characters live. But toward the end a combination of forest fire rescues at the critical moment and a tremendous slugging match in a subterranean passage (a fight which would have delighted Jack London or Frank Norris) results in pure melodrama. Rank sensationalism spoils both the art and the reality of Bailey's otherwise authentic novel.

Lumbering has also given novelists a stirring theme and an unusual locale. The virgin pine territory of upper Michigan furnishes the setting of Stewart Edward White's *The Blazed Trail*, 1902. In recounting the rivalry of two lumber companies to denude the forest, White gives a very complete exposition of logging operations. The novel is opulent and convincing in its pictures of recruiting men, cutting timber, constructing spillways, snaking logs through the woods and driving them to the mills by means of spring freshets. But White reveals little constructive power here, and his plot aside from the realistic lumbering scenes is sentimental and trite. Michigan is also the background for Eugene Thwing's *The Red-Keggers*, 1903, a tale of the Saginaw country which culminates about the time of the disastrous fires of 1871.

But lumbering is not the principal theme. Although lumberjacks appear among the characters and although there are graphic descriptions of a shingle mill in operation and of the breakup of a rollway containing seven million feet of lumber, the chief complication involves a group of youths who operate an illicit distillery and in general disobey the statutes of the community. Much attention is also paid to the development of rural schools. The novel would be stronger if the author had concentrated more on lumbering; he neglected vigorous and fresh material in order to tell of young hoodlums who repent at the proper time. Another tale of the pine forests is Edna Ferber's *Come and Get It*, 1935, localized in and around Hurley, Wisconsin. This strongly flavored tale of vice and struggle in the lumbering world revels in color but as a novel it misses significance.

The growth of transportational facilities has not attracted many storytellers, even though the river packet and the railroad have been fundamental factors in middle western history. And today with the airplane eclipsing both in dramatic interest, the likelihood of a competent novel being written about either is not great. In 1888 Joseph Kirkland published *The McVeys*, a story of northwestern Illinois in the pre-Civil War years. Many historical characters like Lincoln and Douglas are dragged in to provide superficial atmosphere, but there is much minor realism. Neither plot nor characterization seems strong, however, and the most interesting part of the novel deals with the Chicago and Galena Railroad. The wreck of the famous old locomotive, the "Pioneer," is melodramatic but by no means unparalleled in the early railroad era. In *Hill Country*, 1928, Ramsey Benson describes the settling of part of the Red River Valley in western Minnesota. James J. Hill's policy of extending his railroad by selling land to Scandinavian immigrants and by encouraging stock breeding eventually produced wealth for himself and prosperity for the country; it also engendered friction between the Yankees who had reached the open country

through the logging industry and the Swedes who had been unceremoniously dumped upon the prairies. For a time the language barrier implemented this hostility. *Hill Country* is not a skillful novel and its characters never come to life, yet its picture of the exploitation of "Gumbo County" and the significance of the railroad is revealing. Moreover, it gives clear glimpses of the activities of Minnesota politicians like Knute Nelson and Ignatius Donnelly. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is the treatment of Hill. The Empire Builder's influence is everywhere felt—in railroading, finance, agriculture, politics, the press; but the man himself never appears.

Cornelia Meigs's *Railroad West*, 1937, is more concerned with the actual construction of a railroad, in this case the Northern Pacific from Brainerd, Minnesota, to the Missouri River at Bismarck. The hero is an engineer who joins the surveying crew in the Minnesota forests and remains until the last theodolite has been packed away in the Yellowstone Valley of Montana. Although Bismarck is the actual terminus of construction, many of the scenes are laid farther west with George Armstrong Custer leading his famous Seventh Cavalry against the hostile Sioux. Another historical figure in the narrative is the Reverend Henry B. Whipple, the Episcopalian missionary bishop who did so much to christianize the frontier. Despite a certain superficiality and a thin romance, the novel does convey much of the difficulty facing the railroad men from obstacles of climate and terrain to the financial manipulations of Jay Cooke.

It is a far cry from such stories as these to tales focusing on domestic life, on education, and on religion. But novels which furnish details of the home, the school, and the church may provide as sure a key to the past as narratives of war and industry. The minutiae of existence often point a truth which a knowledge of past political suzerainty can only suggest.

The best of the novels of domesticity have been written by women, and they naturally luxuriate in a peculiarly

feminine realism. There is, for example, Maud Hart Lovelace's *Early Candlelight*, 1929, a charmingly romantic recreation of life in pre-territorial Minnesota. All the celebrities of early Fort Snelling are introduced into the rather pallid story and the interest is concentrated in the details of house-keeping in the wilderness, preparing food, erecting cabins, decorating for a ball, making clothes. Scant attention is given outdoor life, and the seamy side of the frontier is easily ignored. In Della Lutes's tales of the Michigan backwoods the author is sentimentally reminiscent, but she floods her pages with details and is meticulous about matters like recipes and foods which most writers overlook. *Home Grown*, 1937, is an autobiography with fictional embroidery set in Jackson County in the late nineteenth century. At times the narrative is abandoned completely to permit the author more space for her ecstatic description of pioneer cuisine. But it is not hard to share her contempt for store bread and pasteurized milk. In *Gabriel's Search*, 1940, Mrs. Della Lutes pictured southern Michigan in the 1830's when life was still primitive and wolves added to the other dangers. Gabriel Reed is a conventional young Hercules, the misunderstood thinker in a backward community. Around his search for a wife are scattered the episodes which make the book valuable as social history, a frontier feast, a baptism by immersion, grain threshing in the fields, a camp meeting, and a frontier harvest festival. Mrs. Lutes was obviously a romantic with a Rousseauistic admiration for the past, but her enthusiasm especially for the foods of grandmother's day is contagious.

One of the incidents in *Gabriel's Search* is the beginning of a rural school. Similar attempts are described in a good many novels, but in at least one story, Edward Eggleston's famous *Hoosier School-Master*, 1871, the country school and its teacher provide the central theme. It is easy to point out the artistic flaws in this book. Its crude writing, its sermonizing, above all its stereotyped characters destroy much of

its readability today, but one cannot overlook the novel's value as a historical document. Hero and villain may be standard fictional types, but one remembers the spelling bee, and one also remembers the pettiness and intolerance of the Indiana hinterland which Eggleston knew so well. A very different type of education is portrayed in Caroline Dale Owen's novel *Seth Wav*, 1917, the story of Robert Owen's social experiments at New Harmony, Indiana, in the 1820's. Other matters, of course, enter in such as the correct apportionment of mental and physical labor, concerts and debates as community entertainment, problems of religion and marriage. Not all the members shared Owen's staunch idealism and he, unhappily, was often absent. But his educational innovations today seem to have been conceived by a special intelligence. The encouragement of music and dancing, the emphasis on language, the early introduction to such natural sciences as botany and geology, and above all the insistence on kindness and patience rather than on corporal punishment speak well for Owen's foresight and wisdom. Only at New Harmony was it possible to celebrate Tom Paine's birthday by a community holiday!

Years later Booth Tarkington wrote in *The Gentleman from Indiana*, 1899, about education in a larger sense, since the theme of the story is John Harkless's crusade against the subversive and corrupt political order which suggests the Ku Klux Klan. Harkless's forum was not a country school but a newspaper, yet he fought for his principles as boldly and as successfully as the young pedagogue of Flat Creek.

Finally, there is the religious life of the early Middle West, a subject which has proved to be of special interest to the social historian and to the novelist. Much of the work of Edward Eggleston, for example, was an attempt to limn the evangelical Methodism of the backwoods, with its prayer meetings, its gaudy revivals, and its circuit riders. *The End of the World*, 1872, deals with the Millerite hysteria in southern Ohio. *Roxy*, 1878, analyzes the struggles of a

young man torn between politics and proselytism, and through the character of the heroine pays tribute to the sincere pietism of the early Methodists. Another novel of southern Indiana, *The Circuit Rider*, 1874, describes a peripatetic minister whose enormous circuit necessitated almost constant travel. He had to face swollen streams, excessive heat, poor accommodations, and occasionally an antagonistic audience and violent heckling. Nevertheless, the spirit and conviction of the evangelist led him to scorn such hardships (witness the career of Peter Cartwright) and to bring his narrow gospel to the illiterate backwoods. Eggleston was eminently right in contending that the Methodist circuit rider was a civilizing factor in the early Middle West.

A less admirable form of religion is revealed in other novels dealing with the mid-century. William Dean Howells's *The Leatherstocking*, 1916, depicts a small Ohio community to which comes one Joseph Dylks who claims messianic qualities. Though fundamentally a charlatan, Dylks has certain characteristics of eloquence and fervor which win him the reverence of the benighted villagers, and it is only his failure to work a miracle that eventually exposes him as a false prophet. Howells's novel is particularly good in revealing the credulity and ignorance of the backwoods. In *They Sought for Paradise*, 1939, Stuart David Engstrand tells the story of Erik Jansson, who led his colony of zealots from Sweden to Bishop Hill, Illinois, in 1846. Engstrand partially explains the singular power that Jansson exercised over his disciples and that permitted him to rule despotically over his semi-communistic village. But Jansson is shown as such a baleful and sinister individual that the reader wonders why his career is not quickly cut short by homicide.

Janssonism was only one of the freakish creeds nurtured by nineteenth century America. Another was the community of Latter Day Saints. In *Children of God*, 1939, Vardis Fisher portrays Joseph Smith and the Mormons. Much of the novel concerns the trek to Salt Lake City, but there are a number of

episodes at Nauvoo and Carthage, Illinois. The book is highly colored, with perhaps an undue emphasis on incidents of violence and brutality—incidents, be it said, that reflect alike on Mormons and their adversaries. According to the novelist the Mormons prospered until the prophet announced his doctrine of plural or celestial marriage; thereafter they faced popular resentment. In another tale of the Mormons, Virginia Sorensen's *A Little Lower Than the Angels*, 1942, the story centers around Nauvoo in 1844 and 1845, the climax being Brigham Young's decision to depart for the far west. Although glimpses of the economic and religious life of the early Mormon capital are given, the core of the book is the impact of Mormonism on a young wife and mother who repressed her natural skepticism only because of loyalty to her husband. The novel is fairly tolerant in its treatment of the Latter Day Saints, but it reveals the suspicion and the accusations which filtered into Joseph Smith's stronghold. Despite a constantly shifting point of view which impairs the book's unity, the characterization is good and the story has both variety and salience. Moreover, there is Elinor Pryor's *And Never Yield*, 1942, a novel which deals with the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois. The narrative embraces the years 1838-1844, ending with the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage. The central figure is again a woman who is more loyal to her husband than to her religion, and again polygamy produces the major problem. There are some vivid scenes such as the massacre at Haun's Mill, but a very episodic plot does little to offset mediocre characterization.¹⁹ One other novel describing the religious activity of the frontier deserves mention, Cecile Hulse Matschat's *Preacher on Horseback*, 1940. Janos Sandor is a young minister of Hungarian descent who begins his clerical life in the Mohawk Valley shortly after the Civil War but

¹⁹ In Mary Hartwell Catherwood's *Mackinac and Lake Stories*, 1900, there are two tales which deal with the Mormon community on Beaver Island and the efforts of "King" Strang to establish his own private colony. See "The King of Beaver" and "Beaver Lights."

soon transfers to the lumber country of western Michigan. Although professionally an evangelist Sandor is also a musician who finds it difficult always to put religious interests first. The novel develops this split personality against the primitive background of the woods in an interesting if not too profound way.

III. A CRITICAL ESTIMATE

In 1894 Hamlin Garland published his book of essays, *Crumbling Idols*, in which he pleaded passionately for veritism (his own term for sincere and purposive local color) and for an intelligent regional culture. In the same book he observed that themes were crying out for attention. The whole lumbering industry, he thought, had not been touched by the novelist. Similarly the rise of middle western metropolises like St. Paul and Minneapolis, the whole gaudy panorama of life on the upper Mississippi, the heterogeneous racial mixtures of Wisconsin and Iowa and Minnesota, all these were wanting a chronicler. Garland felt that the untouched material was so vast that it almost assured the development of a middle western literary movement.

Fifty years have brought many changes, but Chicago has never become the national literary capital that Garland and his circle once expected it to be. Nor have novelists seized upon and exploited the themes and the material which in the 1890's were demanding attention. The great logging camps of our northern forests have still not found their storytellers. The enormously important Mesabi iron range has never been the background of a competent novel. Writers are only now becoming aware of the possibilities inherent in the traffic of the Great Lakes, in the coal and oil fields of southern Illinois, in the packet and barge activities on the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Wabash, the Ohio. On the other hand, the work of James Farrell, of Albert Halper, of Richard Wright suggests that Chicago, at least, is receiving adequate attention from the novelists.

The middle western historical novel has not, on the whole, been a triumph of art and realism. Most of the stories heretofore discussed are mediocre. Their plots sprawl; their narratives lack compactness and cohesion; their characters are anemic or stereotyped; their style frequently wants grace and distinction.²⁰ In the eagerness of the authors to utilize a fresh theme they have forgotten that something more than uniqueness and research is needed to produce an artistic novel. A sense of character, an ear for dialogue, a notion of suspense and construction, a perception of the functions of exposition and narrative are just as essential in writing historical fiction as in producing other forms of literary art.

Some of these faults may best be illustrated by re-examining briefly several of the novels discussed. *Wolves Against the Moon*, for example, has many obvious merits. It is a rich story told against an unfamiliar background; its scenes include places and people fraught with interest. But it is too vast. The dimensions of the tapestry dwarf the action; instead of concentration there is dissipation. The novel would have gained immensely by being shorter, less panoramic, and more intensively a study of the one major character, Joseph Bailly. In White's *The Blazed Trail* the chief fault is the author's inability to integrate his exposition and his narrative. It is almost as if he strove to do two things turn by turn: first, to give a complete account of lumbering in the Michigan pineries; second, to tell a love story which would justify the presence of the lovers in the woods. The exposition of logging is much the best thing in the volume, but it does not contribute materially to the art of the narrative. Finally, in *The Hawk of Detroit* there is no essential unity because the novelist could not make up his mind which character he wished to emphasize, Cadillac or his indigent nephew. Consequently, the story, and the interest of the

²⁰ In an article entitled "The New Vogue of Historical Fiction" in the *English Journal*, Vol. XXVI (Dec., 1937), 775-84, Harlan Hatcher finds these faults general in contemporary historical fiction. Pointing out the structural deficiencies, the prolixity, the stress on sexual relations and vulgarity and brutality, he observes: "Only a few [novels] transcend the note-books and illuminate with understanding the great issues of the past epochs."

reader, shift from one to the other, and neither is revealed in full dimension. The authors of these three books have all failed to master their material, to reduce character and incident and description to the demands of organic form.

But the middle western historical novel is by no means a total failure in an artistic sense. If some of these books exemplify Marion Crawford's dictum that a poor historical novel is likely to be an absurd one, others more than justify the time and labor of their creators. Despite erratic technique and stilted dialogue, despite clichés and trite situations and characters with names but no identity, an occasional novel succeeds in conveying an impression of the past which historians have tried in vain to achieve. Many a reader has found both pleasure and profit in stories such as *Alice of Old Vincennes* or *The Crossing* and has put down the volume with the assurance that for a moment at least a long departed era has miraculously come to life.

The twentieth century has on the whole been an age of realism in literature. Readers have come to expect truth in setting, meticulous and faithful observation of speech and dress and action. Even phenomenal best sellers like *Gone With the Wind* place their romantic plot against a realistic and documented background. A considerable improvement is manifest in the middle western historical novel during the last century which is in keeping with this general trend. On the whole, authors have learned to pay more attention to motivation, plots are simpler and more natural, historical figures are treated more carefully and often more fully. Particularly healthy is the tendency to get away from the fictionized biography of heroes and to democratize the novel by choosing the ordinary citizen as protagonist. In other words, the historical novel has stepped off its pedestal, and everyone is happier as a result.

Although no outstanding novel has yet appeared, the future looks bright. August Derleth's Wisconsin Valley stories, Conrad Richter's fine recreation of the primitive

forest, Iola Fuller's studies of Indian life, Bruce Lancaster's chronicle of the young Lincoln, all suggest possible trends. Above all, there are indications that characterization is becoming richer and deeper. The paramount requirement of the storyteller is the ability to recognize and reveal character. It is not enough to depict people externally, to show them in action; they must think and feel as well as act if the reader is to see them in full dimension. For after all fiction deals with human beings, into whom the novelist must breathe life. Contemporary writers of the middle western historical novel have begun to learn this lesson.

LIEUTENANT JOHN ARMSTRONG'S MAP OF THE ILLINOIS RIVER, 1790

BY COLTON STORM

In the last month of 1789, Henry Knox, then Secretary at War, dispatched a secret letter to General Josiah Harmar, at Fort Washington (Cincinnati), in which he ordered Harmar to "devise some practicable plan for exploring the branch of the Mississippi called the Missouri, up to its source and all its southern branches, and tracing particularly the distances between the said branches and any of the navigable streams that run into the Great North River which empties itself into the gulf of Mexico."¹

Harmar was not enthusiastic about Knox's idea, but he sent one of his better men, Lieutenant John Armstrong, to consult first with Governor Arthur St. Clair, at Kaskaskia, on the plan and then to investigate at St. Louis the possibilities of such an attempt. St. Clair and Harmar both opposed the plan and Armstrong's report to the latter upon returning from St. Louis was not wholly favorable. One gathers from this report that Armstrong would have made the journey if he had been given the opportunity, but that he expected great difficulties in its execution.²

Armstrong concluded his report of June 2, 1790, to Harmar as follows: "I also inclose you a Map. . . of the Illanois River & its connexion with Lake Michagon explained by remarks made by the drawer of the Original."³ A copy of

¹ Original letter in the Harmar Papers, Vol. 11, p. 118, now at the Clements Library, University of Michigan; printed from L. C. Draper's transcript in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1905), VII: 198-99.

² See Colton Storm, "Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River 1790" in *Mid-America*, Vol. 25, no. 3 (July, 1943), 184-85.

³ *Ibid.*, 185; original draft in Harmar Papers, Vol. 12, p. 122a.

this long report, Armstrong's map of the country west of the Mississippi River, and the description and map of the Illinois River were all sent to Knox by Harmar, but those copies do not appear to have survived. The only remaining copies of each of these pieces are to be found in the Harmar Papers, now in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

It is a pity that the name of the "drawer of the Original" has not been preserved for us, since he recorded the course of the Illinois River better than any of his contemporaries. The map of the river is, indeed, a remarkable performance for the time, and the account which accompanies it is uncommonly interesting on several points. The anonymous account copied by Lieutenant Armstrong is written on three pages of folio paper, a fourth page being used for the docket "Description of the Illanois river." The account reads as follows:⁴

The better to describe the Illenois River, I shall give an account of it as I found it last September⁵ in decending it. At the carrying place of Chicagou, the water happened to be very high, in consequence of the rains that had lately fallen, for it is the over flowing of the water of the River Plane⁶ which falls into Chicagou river at the head of one of its branches that makes the carrying place so easy at high water. A Battoe may pass at such a time without carrying any thing. The water falls at three places about 18 Inches perpendiculer; those falls are nearly fifty yards a part. From this it may be concluded that the water of the River Plane is between four or five feet higher then that of Chicauga on Lake Michagon. But at low water, or in a dry Season, all must be carryed nine miles [while] at high water they pass thro a Marsh to the river Plane, which the French calls the Rigotet.⁷ On arriving at the River Plane, the Meadows near the river were over flowed on all sides for about 3 leagues, or 9 Miles, where there is upland and Oak Timber.⁸ On the low ground near the River it is chiefly Maple.

⁴ Original copy in Harmar Papers, Vol. 12, p. 122b. The original spellings have been observed exactly; punctuation has been supplied or revised in the interest of intelligibility; words within brackets have been supplied or substituted, the substitutions being noted in each case.

⁵ The year in which the journey was made is unknown. However, it cannot have been later than 1789.

⁶ Desplaines River; see Description of Map, no. 1.

⁷ I have been unable to locate any other reference to the marsh or the river under the name "Rigotet." It is probably a corruption of a French name, but of which, I cannot determine.

⁸ "Timber" in the original is followed by "but".

The River in general is about 60 yards broad and runs nearly South-west, is not much winding, and the current [is] not strong untill you arrive at the Isle de cache,⁹ or hiding Island, after which there are small Rapids in divers places. The River here, it seems, as far as the forks of theakiki,¹⁰ is called the Kikabou river.¹¹ There are in it several Islands large and small. The hiding Island, and one more above it, are upwards of two miles in length. The Isle decache, or hiding Island, is so called from some French people, who could proceed no farther either by the lateness of the Season or the want of water, [and who] were obliged to hide thier Canoes and goods untill an other oportunity. In this river grows a considerable quaintity of wild rice, and in some places the whole breadth of the river is full of it. On the river, on both Sides, are fine, beautiful hills with a very easy assent. Some of them have wood and others none, which makes them appear at a distance like so many beautiful country Farms, the buildings excepted.

On the left handside in going down there is more wood then on the right. Mount Juliet¹² stands on a delightful Grassy plain and is a beautiful work of nature. The side that fronts the water is about fifty perches¹³ in length and is near thirty in breadth. Its assent is a strait slope with the elevation of 45 degrees. Its perpendicular height above the Surface of the plain is 60 or 70 feet; the top is a perfect level. It is upwards of two hundred yards from the water side and [is] marked on the Map by a green spot.¹⁴ At Mount Juliet the River enlarges itself into what is called a Lake¹⁵ [which is] only 15 yards of clear water, [but]¹⁶ at its broadest part, including the wild rice, [it is] 300.

At leaving this dead part of the river, there is a small Rapid, and the river [is] only 25 yards wide. From this [place] to the Forks of Theakiki is still water, untill within about half a mile of where the two rivers meet and where the bottom of the River is a flat Rock and has no channel, but water [in] plenty. But at the junction of the two rivers we were oblige[d] to lift our Battoes over. Those two Rivers is what forms the Illenois river, which from this place as far as the Vermillien River is about 100 yards broad. At the place above the coal mine marked Rapid, the Rapids are more then ten miles long and at one place so shallow that we were oblige[d] to carry our goods 200 yards.

As for the Coal mine; the thickness of the earth above it is about four feet, the thickness of the Coal Seven, and the thickness of the Rock under it, to the then surface of the water,¹⁷ Seven feet.¹⁸ The length of the

⁹ Cache Island; see Description of Map, no. 3.

¹⁰ Kankakee River; see Description of Map, no. 5.

¹¹ Desplaines River; see Description of Map, no. 3.

¹² Mount Joliet; see Description of Map, no. 4.

¹³ A perch equals five and a half yards.

¹⁴ The position is indicated by a small circle. The green spot apparently refers to the original from which Armstrong made his tracing.

¹⁵ Lake Du Page; see Description of Map, no. 4.

¹⁶ Original reading is "&".

¹⁷ Apparently means "to the surface of the water as it was at that time."

¹⁸ "Feet" in the original is followed by "&".

mine, which is open and presents itself to the river, is about forty perches. The country about it is without wood, being a dry Meadow. There is a strong current till past the Fox river, where the current begins to abate in some measure, but the river is not very deep to the entry of the Vermillien River, where the river is near 150 yards broad. And from this [place] to where it enters the Mississippi [it] is without any perpendicular current, except at the going out of Lake de Aussee¹⁹ or Illenois Lake [where] there is a small current to be percieved. And all along the river there are no hills or mountains to be seen, excepting some few on the west of Lake Deaussee and some more on the right hand before it enters the Mississippi, none after passing the Vermillien River. The Meadows are seldom seen, being hid by the wood that grows along the river, but it is said they are at no great distance. The Illanois River from the Vermillien River to Lake Daussee is about 15 yards wide and a little below that Lake it is near 200, but for 20 Leagues before it enters into the Mississippi it is 300 yds in breadth.

And what is more remarkable, a Battoe may leave the Falls of Niagara, provided the Waters of Chicagou are high, and pass without any Land carriage to the Bay of Mexico, which is not less than 3000 Miles thro the Land of America. The River Mississippi has a smooth, heavy current and in the Spring, when the Waters are high, runs near 7 Miles an hour. But in the fall of the year, when the Waters are low, it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 Miles an hour, and continues much the same from its junction with the Missouri till it discharges itself into the Bay of Mexico at the Balise. Till it joins the Missouri, it[s] water is like common river Water, but not clear like that of the Lakes. The Missouri has its Sources either in, or passes thro, some inexhaustable body of white clay and, when it gains the Mississippi, having a much stronger current, immediately casts over its white water to the Opposite shore. It appears curious to see those waters mixing to gether, but [it] is immediately done and the Mississippi keeps that whiteness even after the Ohio enters it with several other rivers, none of which cause any perceptable alterations.

The map which accompanies this description of the Illinois River appears to be a tracing of an English (or American) original. It bears little resemblance to printed English maps of the period and it is very different from any French printed map of the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The most striking single feature of the map is the delineation of the great bend in the river along the north, northwest, and west boundaries of Bureau and Putnam counties. The few place names scribbled on the map are, for the most part, easily identified.

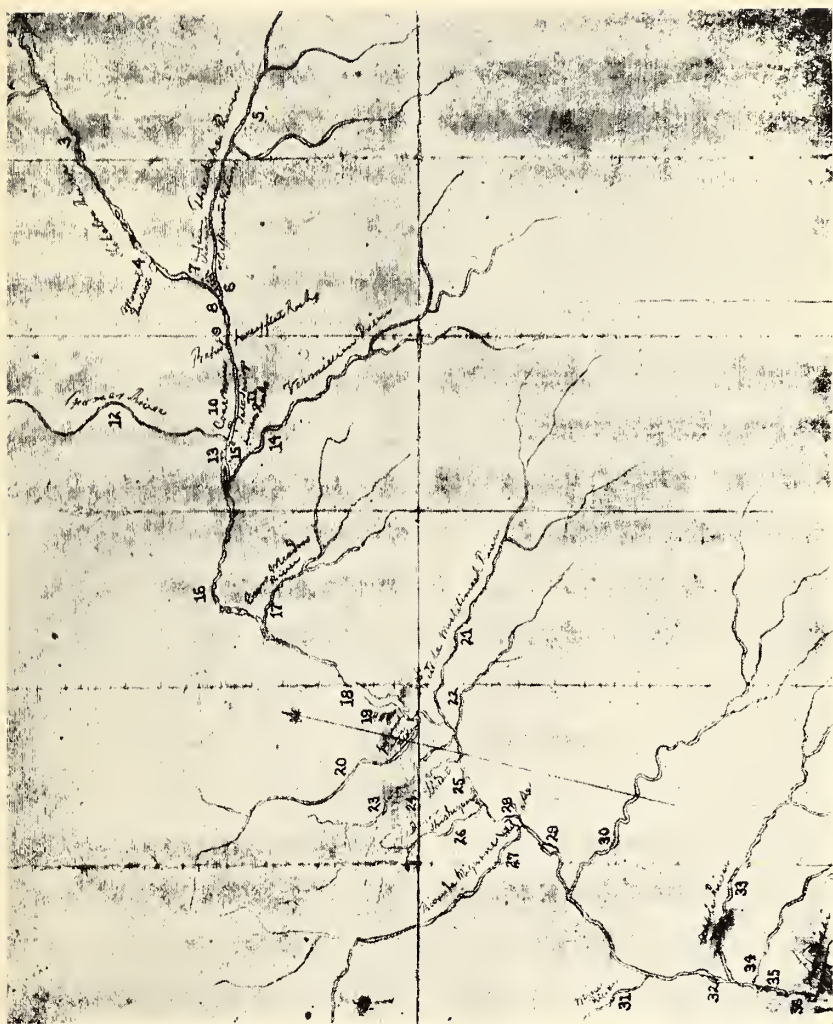
¹⁹ Lake Peoria; see Description of Map, no. 18.

The map is traced on paper which measures $14 \frac{7}{8}$ by $18 \frac{1}{4}$ inches and which is watermarked on the left half "J G & Co Brandywine" (two lines), and on the right half with a powder horn suspended from a loop. The outlines are traced in red crayon or pencil and the place names are written in black pencil. The small portion of Lake Michigan shown is colored red.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP

The points of interest and places named on the map are indicated in the left column; remarks on them appear in the right column. In the left column, each place name or descriptive passage appears as it is shown on the map; words within brackets do not appear on the face of the map.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| [1] Chicagoue River | The north branch of the river, only, is shown. It is connected to the Desplaines River by a series of tiny circles which probably indicate the marsh mentioned in the description. |
| [2] [Unnamed creek] | Probably Salt Creek. |
| [3] Kikabou River | Desplaines River. Between the entrance of Salt Creek and the head of the Illinois River, five islands are shown. The second island, less than halfway between Salt Creek and the head of the Illinois, seems to be the Isle de cache (later Cache Island) mentioned in the description. |
| [4] Mount Juliet | Mount Joliet or Monjolly in other early records. It is indicated by a rough circle on the northwest side of the river, at the head of old Lake Du Page. |
| [5] Theakike River | Kankakee River. Three branches are shown. |



LIEUTENANT ARMSTRONG'S MAP OF
THE ILLINOIS RIVER, 1790



- [6] [Fork of Desplaines and Kankakee rivers] A group of eight tiny circles indicates "Indian Villages of Different Nations."
- [7] Indian Villages of Different Nations See 6 above.
- [8] [Islands below the fork] Two islands are shown below the fork formed by the Desplaines and Kankakee rivers. They are now called Twin Islands.
- [9] Rapids full of flat Rocks Written across the river about half way between Twin Islands and Seneca.
- [10] Coal Mine Apparently slightly below Marseilles—about halfway between Marseilles and the Fox River.
- [11] Salt Springs On the south bank of the river opposite the "Coal Mine."
- [12] Foxes River Fox River.
- [13] [Islands between the Fox River and the Vermilion River] These represent the Hitt, Sheehan, Delbridge, Lippold, and Mayo islands.
- [14] Vermillien River Vermilion River
- [15] Small Rocks In the fork between the Fox and Vermilion rivers several small dots indicate the positions of a series of "Small Rocks."
- [16] [Bend in the river along the boundaries of Bureau and Putnam counties] This big bend, which is not shown on other maps of the period, is quite accurately marked. It also shows how the river breaks open after the bend to form the series of "lakes" known as Goose, Senachwine, etc.
- [17] Crow Meadow River The position of this river is approximately that of Sandy Creek, but it

- probably represents the modern Crow Creek.
- [18] [Unnamed large lake] Lake Peoria, or Goose, Douglas, etc. lakes. The description calls this Lake de Aussee or Illinois Lake. It appears on earlier maps often as Illinois Lake.
- [19] A french trading Place The position of this French post is indicated by small, rough roofs and appears to have been located on the west shore of Lake Peoria at its westernmost point. French villages were located on or near this site for many years.
- [20] [Unnamed river] Kickapoo Creek.
- [21] Little Michilimack River Mackinaw River.
- [22] [Unnamed river] Quiver Creek.
- [23] [Unnamed river] Spoon River.
- [24] Clef (or Chef) de Soldat Apparently Dutchman's Creek and Dutchman's Lake, the lake being clearly indicated.
- [25] [Islands between Dutchman's Creek and Crooked Creek] A series of six islands is indicated in the river. They seem to lie slightly above the present Beardstown.
- [26] River Shishequan Crooked Creek. In other maps of the period, this appears as a variant of Riviere Semiquian.
- [27] River de Miquane & the Lake McKee Creek. In other maps of the period, this appears as a variant of Riviere Demiquian.
- [28] [Unnamed lake above River de Miquane] Meredosia Lake.

- [29] [Unnamed lake] Smith Lake. The map shows an island in the center which does not appear on modern maps.
- [30] [Unnamed river] Mauvaise Terre Creek.
- [31] Mine River Either Blue Creek or Little Blue Creek.
- [32] [Unnamed island] Macoupin Island.
- [33] Apple River This may be Apple Creek, but since it enters the Illinois below Macoupin Island, it is probably Macoupin Creek.
- [34] [Unnamed river] Probably Otter Creek.
- [35] [Unnamed islands] A series of four islands between Otter Creek and the entrance of the Illinois into the Mississippi, the most northerly of which is Twelve-mile Island.
- [36] Mississippi Mississippi River.

ILLINOIS IN 1943

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

January 1

The people of Illinois are guests at the annual reception at the Executive Mansion. Governor Dwight H. Green, Mrs. Green, and state officials and their wives are in the receiving line.

January 5

Six persons are killed and more than one hundred are injured in a fire and explosion in the Beverly Bowling Parlor on Chicago's south side.

Henry G. Herget, industrialist and civic leader in Pekin, dies at the age of eighty. He was a former president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

January 6

The sixty-third General Assembly of Illinois convenes, with Arnold P. Benson acting as president pro tem of the Senate and Elmer J. Schnackenberg speaker of the House. After the new members take their oaths of office, the Governor delivers his message to a joint session of both houses.

The first division of the Illinois appellate court rules that retail merchants have to absorb the sales tax and cannot pass it on to the consumer. The amount of the tax can, however, be added to the purchase price.

January 10

Fire destroys Hedding Hall, constructed in 1870 and still serving as the main building of Illinois Wesleyan University. Loss is estimated at \$300,000.

January 11

Inauguration of William G. Stratton of Morris as state treasurer and Vernon L. Nickell of Champaign as state superintendent of public instruction takes place before a joint session of both houses of the General Assembly.

January 18

Samuel Northrup Harper, authority on Russia and the Russian language and professor at the University of Chicago, dies. He was the son of William Rainey Harper, first president of the University.

An indictment charging George W. Ziller, of Weston and Springfield, with conspiracy to "sell" ordnance plant jobs is dismissed in the Piatt County Circuit Court. Judge W. S. Bodman rules that Ziller was the victim of prejudice before the grand jury which indicted him on July 16, 1942.

January 19

The Illinois Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Illinois unemployment compensation act, denying the contention that the act was invalid because of the power it gives to the state director of labor in determining workers' eligibility. Twenty-five other decisions are also handed down.

January 20

Extremely low temperatures are experienced in all parts of the state, thirteen degrees below zero being recorded in Chicago. Ice and snow cause numerous transportation difficulties.

Sears, Roebuck & Company, Chicago mail-order house, gives the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., to the University of Chicago. The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was issued in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1768.

Winford Lee Lewis, sixty-four year old inventor of the deadly war gas, lewisite, and former professor at Northwestern University, dies in Evanston. He had been director of the department of scientific research of the Institute of American Meat Packers since 1924.

January 21

The 551-mile oil pipe line from Longview, Texas, to Norris City, Illinois, is completed at a cost of \$35,000,000. The twenty-four inch line, which has a capacity of 300,000 barrels daily, will be extended to Philadelphia and New York.

January 26

High school credit for military service and for special instruction while in the armed services is approved by Illinois school accrediting officials. The new rulings are signed by Vernon L. Nickell, state superintendent of public instruction, and Arthur W. Clevenger, high school visitor of the University of Illinois.

January 28

The first bill passed by the Sixty-third General Assembly is signed by Governor Green. It authorizes the state treasurer to invest the treasury surplus in U.S. war bonds. The bill goes into effect immediately.

February 1

Eight hundred and seventy-seven paroled convicts in Illinois have been released for military service, according to announcement made today. These men, who had been under certain restrictions during probationary periods, have now been given final discharges.

February 2

A new metal scrap drive begins in the Midwest and will last six months. Illinois' quota is set at 1,081,000 tons.

February 3

Edward H. Morris, eighty-five year old Negro who prac-

ticed law in Chicago for more than fifty years, dies in Washington. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1890 to 1892 and 1902 to 1904.

February 5

An army transport plane crashes on a farm near Clinton, killing all five occupants. The ship was on a routine training flight from the Hondo Army Air Base at Hondo, Texas.

February 6

Two hundred and eighty-one colleges and universities in the United States are approved for training men and women for the armed forces. Selection was made by representatives of the War and Navy departments and the War Manpower Commission.

February 7

The sale of shoes is suspended throughout the country until February 9. They will then be rationed at the rate of three pairs per person for the remainder of 1943.

February 11

The United Mine Workers of America and the Illinois Coal Operators' Association sign an agreement to work a six day, forty-two hour week, with time and one-half for the sixth day. The present basic work week in Illinois mines belonging to the association is thirty-five hours distributed over five days. The agreement, which runs until March 1, is contingent upon OPA's granting an increase in the price of coal.

February 13

The first flow of oil through the twenty-four inch pipe line from Longview, Texas, arrives in Norris City, Illinois. The oil will be shipped by rail from here to the East Coast until the 857-mile extension eastward is completed.

Recruiting of 18,000 enlisted women, aged twenty to thirty-six, and 1,000 officers, aged twenty to fifty, for the new U.S.

Marine Corps Women's Reserve will begin on February 15, according to announcement made in Washington.

February 14

Donald C. Dobbins, sixty-four year old lawyer, dies at his home in Champaign. He was a member of Congress from 1933 to 1937.

February 17

OPA freezes the sale of canned meat and fish throughout the United States to halt hoarding pending rationing, which is to begin at the end of the month.

February 19

The U.S. Government becomes the owner of the 3,000 room Stevens Hotel in Chicago upon payment of the purchase price of \$6,000,000. The hotel was taken over by the army in the summer of 1942 for use as an air force technical training school.

February 20

The retail sale of dried beans and peas, lentils, and dehydrated and dried soups is suspended throughout the nation. They will be included in the list of rationed articles on March 1.

The U.S. Navy announces a plan to train officers in 334 colleges and universities, beginning on July 1. Courses given to high and prep school graduates, who will be rated as apprentice seamen, will average a year and four months in length.

February 22

All civilians in the United States will register during the next five days for war ration book two. Each person who has more than five cans of food must declare them. Rationing of canned and processed foods will begin on March 1.

The Halliday Hotel in Cairo, famous as the Civil War headquarters of General U. S. Grant, is destroyed by fire. The five-story building was erected 1857-1859.

February 23

Mayor Edward J. Kelly and George B. McKibbin are nominated as the Democratic and Republican mayoralty candidates, respectively, in Chicago. The election will be held on April 6.

March 3

Governor Green signs five bills making deficiency appropriations to the state departments of public safety, welfare, and public instruction, and providing funds for old age assistance and aid to dependent children.

March 4

Live hogs reach a price of \$16 per hundredweight in Chicago. This is the highest price since October, 1920. May wheat sells at \$1.49, the highest since 1928-1929.

March 8

A record low temperature for this date is recorded in Chicago when the thermometer reaches seven below zero. This is the second successive day of extremely cold weather.

March 11

Mrs. Helen Wadsworth Yates, widow of Governor Richard Yates, dies in Pleasant Ridge, Michigan. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Wadsworth, pioneer residents of Jacksonville, Illinois.

March 12

John P. Harding, restaurant owner and president of the Chicago civil service commission, dies at the age of seventy-six. He had been in the restaurant business since 1891.

March 16

The Illinois state building authority act of 1941, aimed at permitting the state to acquire a centralized state office build-

ing in Chicago, is declared unconstitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court. The court bases its judgment on the provision allowing the authority to issue \$12,000,000 in bonds without a vote of the people.

March 18

The Illinois Supreme Court rules that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana is liable for payment of the state sales tax on products shipped into Illinois from its out-of-state refineries, but it holds that prior to a 1941 sales tax amendment such sales were tax exempt.

March 19

Frank ("The Enforcer") Nitti shoots himself to death in North Riverside, soon after he and eight associates are indicted by a federal grand jury in New York on charges of extorting \$2,500,000 through the AFL International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. Nitti was said to be the ruler of Chicago's underworld.

March 20

Frank O. Lowden, member of Congress from Illinois, 1906-1911, and governor of Illinois, 1917-1921, dies in Tucson, Arizona, at the age of eighty-two. He was a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1920 and 1924.

Nine persons are killed and sixteen injured in a bus-train collision at Granite City. All the dead and most of the injured were on an intercity bus, which was hit by an Illinois Terminal electric train.

March 22

Retail sales of butter, lard, margarine, shortening, and cooking oils are suspended for the rest of the week. Rationing of these articles will begin on March 29.

Mme Chiang Kai-shek, first lady of China, addresses 20,000 persons in the Chicago Stadium. She is making a goodwill tour across the country.

March 23

Thousands of acres of bottom land are flooded along the rising Wabash and Ohio rivers. Backwater from the Ohio has stopped the flow of streams near Harrisburg, some twenty miles inland.

March 25

Last rites for former Governor Frank O. Lowden are conducted at his Sinnissippi farms estate on the Rock River. Burial is made in Graceland Cemetery, Chicago.

March 29

Rationing of meats, canned fish, edible fats and oil, and many cheeses begins.

March 31

Abandonment of the plan to scrap 151 miles of the lines of the Illinois Terminal Railroad is officially announced. On September 28, 1942, WPB proposed to junk this mileage for scrap metal, but the Office of Defense Transportation and the Illinois Commerce Commission protested and the new WPB order followed.

April 2

A price of \$16.10 is paid for hogs in the Chicago market, the highest April price in twenty-four years. The price drops, however, before the close of the market.

April 6

Edward J. Kelly, mayor of Chicago since 1933, is re-elected for a four-year term.

April 12

The Second War Loan Drive opens. The U.S. Treasury expects to sell securities totaling \$12,000,000,000.

April 16

Camp Ellis, the only unit training center for the Army Service Forces and the largest military camp in the sixth service command, opens its gates to trainees.

April 20

Luther B. Bratton, circuit court judge in Kankakee since 1939, dies at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1931 to 1935.

John H. Wigmore, dean emeritus of the Northwestern University Law School, internationally known writer, and recipient of numerous honors in the field of law, dies from injuries suffered in an automobile accident. He was eighty years old.

April 21

The Governor's budget message is delivered to members of the Sixty-third Illinois General Assembly.

April 26

Henry Bowers, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1918 to 1924, dies in Pittsfield.

April 30

The War Food Administration announces the creation of a new organization to handle the farm labor program and announces that it will mobilize a U.S. Crop Corps of 3,500,000 persons to assist skilled workers.

May 1

With over half a million miners in the country out on strike, the U.S. government takes over all mines. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, as Solid Fuels Administrator for the War, is directing their operation.

May 2

An agreement reached between John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers' president, and Solid Fuels Administrator Ickes provides for a two-week truce in the coal strike, beginning on May 4. An attempt to work out a new wage contract will be made in the meantime.

May 4

All coal mines of the country are ordered to operate on a six-day week basis.

May 10

Governor Green announces that the State of Illinois has purchased 450 acres of land fronting on Lake Michigan near Waukegan. The land, which was bought for \$90,000, will be used for a state park after the war.

May 11

The Governor signs a bill which codifies and consolidates existing election laws.

May 15

Miss Josephine Perry, Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-one. She was a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1930 to 1934.

High waters of the Illinois and Sangamon rivers are inundating several thousand acres of land near Beardstown and Chandlerville.

May 17

Rivers of central Illinois are still overflowing as record-breaking rains continue. The Illinois River at Beardstown has risen thirteen inches in the last twenty-four hours. Pike County is also undergoing extensive flood damage from tributaries of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.

The United Mine Workers' no-strike agreement is extended to May 31. An existing truce was due to expire tomorrow.

May 18

All previous rainfall records are broken in central Illinois. At Springfield, 9.78 inches have fallen in the first eighteen days of this month. Widespread damage from the flooded Sangamon River is reported. At Chandlerville, where a

thirty-inch rise has occurred during the past twenty-four hours, workers are sandbagging the levee.

May 19

The rampaging Illinois, Sangamon, and Mississippi rivers approach record levels. Thousands of acres of land are flooded, several railroads have ceased operation, and numerous highways are closed in central Illinois. At Beardstown, a three-foot extension on the twenty-seven foot concrete sea wall erected in 1929 is being constructed. The river at that city now stands at 25.3 feet.

May 20

The main bridge over the Illinois River at Beardstown is closed, and a detachment of army engineers has arrived to aid in patrolling the sea wall.

An army bomber rams into a 500-foot high gas storage tank in Chicago, killing all twelve men on board. A terrific explosion and fire follow the crash.

May 21

The Governor signs a bill which authorizes the establishment of a municipal airport by any community in the state on a referendum vote.

Five hundred men and women keep an all-night vigil along Beardstown's sea wall as the Illinois River continues to rise. At Peoria, a ninety-nine year record is broken when the river reaches a 26.6 foot stage.

May 22

Evacuation of 4,000 women, children, and infirm persons from Beardstown begins when the Illinois River rises to a little more than a foot below the top of the extended sea wall. About 1,000 troops are patrolling Illinois River levees in Scott and Greene counties. At Peoria, the river reaches a level of 27.82 feet, highest in history.

May 23

Reports on the nation's Second War Loan Drive, which ended on May 1, show a total subscription of \$18,500,000-000. A goal of \$12,000,000,000 had been set.

May 24

The Illinois River spreads out over a vast territory as it continues to rise. It stands within six inches of the top of the extended sea wall at Beardstown, where 1,150 soldiers are loading sandbags and patrolling the wall.

May 25

Damage to property, livestock, and crops mounts steadily as the waters from the Mississippi and Illinois rivers lay waste new areas, levees being broken in many places. Grafton and the Cahokia-Venice-Nameoki regions are also in grave danger.

May 26

The Illinois River reaches a crest of 29.7 feet at Beardstown, only a few inches from the top of the extended sea wall. The community of Naples, whose inhabitants have been evacuated, is completely under water. In the entire state, an estimated 1,257,698 acres of crop land have been inundated, with the heaviest loss in corn—181,500 acres. At least nine deaths have been attributed to the flood.

May 27

Vaughn De Leath, forty-three year old singer and composer, dies in Buffalo, New York. A native of Mt. Pulaski, she was known as the "first woman in radio" after her first broadcast in 1920.

June 1

A walkout of 500,000 miners paralyzes the nation's coal industry. An existing truce has expired and the wage controversy is still unsettled.

June 2

Frank L. Capps, seventy-four year old pioneer in the phonograph industry, dies in New York City. He was a native of Illiopolis and a former resident of Mt. Pulaski and Springfield.

June 3

Wesley P. Flint, chief entomologist of the Illinois State Natural History Survey and the University of Illinois, dies at the age of sixty. He was widely known for his work on crop insects.

June 4

The reoccupation of Beardstown is completed in one day. About 4,000 residents left it two weeks ago when the raging Illinois River threatened to inundate the town.

June 7

The Illinois Coal Operators' Association and the United Mine Workers' Union, unwilling to wait for a national settlement of the wage controversy, make their own agreement. Portal-to-portal pay of \$1.50 daily, retroactive to April 1, is the basis of the negotiation.

June 8

The last of approximately 10,000 troops on duty in the Illinois flood area are withdrawn and will return to their home stations. A total of 30,940 persons were evacuated during the flood.

June 9

Nicholas J. Mastro, member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1936 to 1940, dies at the age of forty-nine. He lived in Chicago.

Charles G. Strohm, serving his third term in the Illinois General Assembly, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He lived at West Union.

The Governor signs a bill authorizing municipalities to preserve the civil service status of their employees in the armed services. Several appropriation bills are also approved.

June 10

Randall B. Echols, former Loraine resident, dies at his home in Springfield at the age of eighty-eight. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1904 to 1906.

Dr. Arthur Dean Bevan, world famous Chicago surgeon, dies at the age of eight-one. He had been professorial lecturer on surgery at the University of Chicago since 1901.

June 12

John S. Brown, merchant and three times mayor of Monmouth, dies at the age of sixty-nine. He was a state senator from 1924 to 1928.

June 14

Dr. George Thomas Palmer, pioneer in Illinois public health work and specialist in tuberculosis, dies at his home in Springfield. His biography of his grandfather, the late General John M. Palmer, was published in 1941.

June 16

Governor Green signs a bill creating the Lowden Memorial Commission, which is to arrange for erecting a memorial to former Governor Frank O. Lowden.

June 20

Matt J. Gross, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1936 to 1938, dies. He lived in Monmouth.

June 21

About 530,000 coal miners, including 25,000 UMW members in Illinois, strike for the third time since May.

June 22

John H. Stevens, eighty-six year old Chicago merchant, dies at his home in Glencoe. He became associated in the firm of

Charles A. Stevens & Company when it was founded by his brother fifty-two years ago, and was chairman of the board when he died.

June 24

The War Department announces the creation of an Army Specialized Training Reserve Program in which 25,000 high school graduates between seventeen and eighteen will receive military scholarships.

The Illinois Senate votes to unseat Senator Louis J. Menges, East St. Louis, and to seat in his place John T. Thomas, Belleville. It is charged that fraudulent votes were cast in the election last November.

June 25

Most of the 25,000 members of the UMW and the 15,000 members of PWA in Illinois return to the shafts, though an estimated forty per cent of the nation's half-million miners are still on strike. Many steel mills, out of coal, have been forced to close.

June 29

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago grants new trials to Hans Max and Erna Haupt, Walter and Lucille Froehling, and Otto and Kate Wergin because their confessions were illegally gained and improperly used. They were convicted on November 14, 1942, of aiding Herbert Haupt, executed Nazi spy.

The Illinois House of Representatives unseats Representative Frank Holten, East St. Louis, on charges of election frauds, and seats in his place R. H. Huschle, also of East St. Louis.

June 30

Among legislative bills becoming law by the Governor's signature are several making the following provisions: (1) a new state Department of Revenue is created to take over

all state tax collection functions; (2) the sum of \$2,500,000 for emergency flood relief is appropriated; (3) unemployment compensation benefits are raised from \$18 to \$20 a week, effective April 1, 1944.

July 1

The Illinois Senate and House adjourn sine die—after their clocks were officially stopped to permit enactment of bills after the constitutional June 30 midnight deadline. More than two hundred bills are pushed through final passage during the last eighteen hours.

James E. MacMurray, former Chicago steel manufacturer, dies at his home in Pasadena, California, at the age of eighty-one. He had donated more than four million dollars to MacMurray College for Women at Jacksonville, Illinois, since 1938. He was a former state senator from the Hyde Park district of Chicago, 1920-1926.

Philip W. Collins, Chicago, is appointed head of the new state Revenue Department authorized by the last General Assembly.

The pay-as-you-go income tax law goes into effect throughout the country. Wage and salary earners are now subject to a twenty per cent withholding levy, above personal exemptions.

Governor Green approves several bills, among them one appropriating \$150,000 for the purchase of public hunting and fishing grounds in Illinois.

July 2

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps becomes a part of the Army according to provisions of a bill signed by President Roosevelt. Hereafter it is to be known as the Women's Army Corps.

July 4

Immediate liquidation of all NYA projects in the country is ordered by Director Aubrey Williams. Congress recently voted discontinuance of the agency.

Camp Ellis, 12,000 acre camp near Lewistown, is formally dedicated. The various service branches of the army will be trained together here to act as a closely co-ordinated unit in support of combat troops. The camp is named for Sergeant Michael B. Ellis, World War I hero of East St. Louis.

July 6

Chicago experiences the heaviest two-hour rainfall in local weather bureau history. A total of 3.33 inches falls in two hours, flooding hundreds of basements and numerous underpasses.

July 9

Five firemen are killed and four others are seriously injured when a stairway in a burning building collapses in Chicago.

A number of bills enacted by the last General Assembly are signed by the Governor. Included are measures making the following provisions: authorization for high school districts to establish and maintain junior colleges; creation of a commission to study existing higher education facilities in the state; reduction of educational requirements for medical students during the war emergency; organization of county or multiple-county public health departments; authorization for cities to supply fire protection to property outside cities; reimbursement of counties for blind relief and placing relief under the Illinois Public Aid Commission; creation of a Post-war Planning Commission and a State Superhighway Commission.

July 11

Deer Park, a 550 acre tract in La Salle County, is formally

accepted by the State of Illinois. The area, formerly the home of F. W. Matthiessen, was presented to the state by his heirs, Lieutenant Richard Blow, Frederick M. Blow, and Mrs. Wayne Chatfield-Taylor.

July 15

The Governor signs numerous bills, among them those providing for the following: a \$53,200,000 Chicago school pegged levy; extension of the indigent war veterans act to cover men serving in World War II; authorization for county boards to classify employees and standardize salaries; increase of death benefits under workmen's compensation and occupational diseases acts from ten to seventeen and a half per cent; conversion of Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale into a college of liberal arts and sciences; and liberalization of the old age assistance program and changing the title of benefits from "assistance" to "pensions."

July 16

Bills signed by Governor Green: the eight-hour day and the six-day week laws are relaxed to meet wartime conditions; Illinois manufacturers are permitted to reduce the butter fat content in ice cream from twelve to ten per cent for the duration of the war; a commission of five members from each legislative branch to investigate small business conditions is approved.

July 21

John L. Lewis, president of UMW, signs a contract granting 35,000 Illinois coal miners \$1.25 a day for portal-to-portal pay. In addition, an average of \$1.50 a day is added by lengthening the working day from seven to eight hours and changing the week from five to six days, paying time and a half for these extra hours. The average weekly wage will be \$63.50 instead of the current \$45.50. NWLB must sanction the contract.

July 22

Equal pay for women legislation, applying to manufacturers only and effective July 1, 1944, is approved by the Governor. Also approved today: a bill requiring the teaching of United States history in all public schools supported by public funds; two "scavenger" bills, aimed at clearing up millions of dollars of property tax delinquencies; legislation making temporary all wartime civil service appointments and authorizing state officials to remove any civil service officer or employee for a "just cause."

July 23

Creation of a retirement and benefit fund for the employees of the State of Illinois is provided for in a legislative measure signed today.

July 24

Illinois counties are authorized to fix the pay of all election judges and clerks within a range of \$5 to \$10 under provisions of a bill signed by Governor Green. More than a score of other bills are also approved.

July 27

Bishop Ernest Lynn Waldorf, sixty-seven year old head of the Chicago area of the Methodist Church, dies at Alexandria Bay, New York.

Governor Green signs a bill appropriating up to \$1,500,000 during the next two years for reimbursement of local school boards, to pay excess costs of federally financed school lunch programs.

July 28

Rationing of coffee ends.

Governor Green allows to become law without his signature legislation permitting Cook County to issue bonds without referendum to clean up its \$8,000,000 in debts.

July 29

The U.S. Navy announces that its Women's Reserve will be increased from its present enrollment of 27,000 to 91,000 by the end of 1944.

July 30

Illinois is blacked out in its first air-raid test on a state-wide scale. The only sections not included are Cook County and parts of DuPage and Lake counties.

July 31

The Skymaster No. 1, first four-engined army cargo transport plane, makes its inaugural flight over Chicago. Built by the Chicago plant of the Douglas Aircraft Company, the huge plane can carry fifteen tons of arms, equipment, and supplies, or fifty fully equipped soldiers.

August 2

Nine members of a fourteen-man section gang are killed instantly when a Big Four Railroad train plows into a working crew near Nokomis. The men apparently failed to hear the train whistle.

Judge Martin M. Gridley, judge in the Superior and Illinois Appellate courts for thirty years until he retired in 1940, dies at his home in Evanston. He was eighty years old.

August 4

In the first election under the Smith-Connally anti-strike act, employees of two Allis-Chalmers plants in Springfield vote 1,005 to 836 to strike in a CIO-UMW jurisdictional dispute. Union leaders say that no immediate strike action is expected however.

August 9

The main dining hall and hospital building of the Illinois School for the Deaf at Jacksonville is destroyed by fire. Because of the summer vacation, no students were in the building.

August 10

The U.S. Navy announces that women doctors are eligible for reserve commissions in the Navy Medical Corps and begins a drive to recruit 600. They will serve within the United States.

August 12

Charles M. Turner, member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1916 to 1938, dies at his home in Wenona.

August 13

OPA announces that the value of gasoline ration coupons will be cut from four to three gallons in the Midwest and Southwest on August 16.

August 17

The new Illinois War Labor Standards Advisory Board, created by the last General Assembly, announces eleven rules under which employers in essential war operations may deviate from the women's eight-hour day and six-day week laws.

August 23

William N. Baltz, former Illinois representative in Congress (1913-1915), dies at his home in Millstadt. He was eighty-three years old.

August 25

NWLB rejects the UMW contract with the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, holding that the \$1.25 a day portal-to-portal pay is a hidden wage increase. Since time and a half pay for extra time is not considered an increase, board approval of that part of the agreement is not required.

August 28

John P. Walsh, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1904 to 1918, dies at his home in Chicago. He was seventy-one years old.

August 31

The consolidation of the Oak and Sangamon Ordnance plants at Illiopolis is announced. Remington Rand, Inc., will operate both plants.

September 2

An infantile paralysis epidemic in Chicago continues. The opening of public schools in suburban Cicero and Berwyn is postponed one week.

September 3

Potter Palmer, II, dies in Santa Barbara, California, at the age of sixty-seven. He was president of the Chicago Art Institute, a director of the First National Bank of Chicago, and trustee of the vast Bertha Honore Palmer estate.

September 4

Will Colby, seventy-three year old artist and illustrator, dies at his ranch near Phoenix, Arizona. He was a native of Aurora, Illinois.

September 5

The infantile paralysis epidemic in Chicago reaches a peak with 150 new cases reported during the past week. Since the outbreak started, there have been 467 cases and 46 deaths.

September 6

Miss Georgia L. Chamberlin, Chicago religious worker and author, dies at the age of eight-one in Winter Park, Florida. She was executive secretary of the American Institute of Sacred Literature for forty-five years.

September 7

Oscar H. Haugan, Chicago banker and former Norwegian consul in that city, dies at his home in Evanston. He was seventy years old.

Charles S. Peterson, former city treasurer of Chicago, a leader in the printing industry, and vice-president of A Century of Progress in 1933, dies at his home in Chicago.

Sale of the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, to A. E. Kirkeby is announced by the War Department. The hotel had been acquired by the U.S. Government on February 19 for use as an Air Forces technical training school.

September 8

The Third War Loan drive is opened by President Roosevelt. Securities totaling \$15,000,000,000 will be sold by the U.S. Treasury.

September 17

Edward Skarda, state representative from Chicago for sixteen years, dies at the age of fifty-five.

September 21

Illinois retailers can include the two per cent occupational tax as part of the price of merchandise sold, but the tax cannot be added as a separate item, according to a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court announced today.

September 24

Harry Hill Ferguson, organizer of the original Illinois Terminal Railroad and president of the Lewis & Clark Bridge Company, Alton, dies at his home in Grafton. He was born in Alton in 1867.

September 25

Charles H. Dennis, editor emeritus of the *Chicago Daily News* since 1934, dies at the age of eighty-three. He was on the staff of that newspaper for over half a century, serving as editor from 1925 to 1934.

September 30

OPA lowers the B and C gasoline rations to two gallons from the Rocky Mountains to the East Coast.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., announces that the Third War Loan has been oversubscribed.

October 5

John C. Shaffer, president and publisher of several metropolitan newspapers, among them the *Chicago Evening Post* from 1901 to 1931, dies in Chicago at the age of ninety.

Bernard E. Sunny, president of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company, 1908-1922, and chairman of the board, 1922-1930, dies at his home in Chicago. He was eighty-seven years old.

October 6

Patrick A. Nash, Democratic leader in Chicago and Illinois for many years, dies in Chicago. He was eighty years old.

October 8

Joe Grein, former city sealer of Chicago and member of the Illinois legislature, 1904-1906, commits suicide at the age of seventy. A former newsboy, he is said to have sold 10,000 papers in one day during a contest.

October 11

Jerome O'Connell, state senator from 1932 to 1936, dies at his home in Morris.

October 12

Solid Fuels Administrator Ickes announces that all the coal mines of the country have now been returned to private owners. The United States government took over the mines on May 1.

October 16

The State Street unit of the Chicago subway system, about five miles long and costing \$34,000,000, is placed in operation. Fifty additional miles of tubes will be constructed later.

October 21

John T. Denvir, state senator from 1920 to 1940, dies at the age of eighty-four. His home was in Chicago.

October 26

A bill signed by the President sets dependency benefits to wives and children of service men at \$50 for the wife, \$30 for the first child, and \$20 for each additional child. The present scale is \$50—\$12—\$10.

October 28

Gustavus F. Swift, former president and director of Swift & Company and vice chairman of the board since 1937, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-two. At the age of seventeen, he became associated with the packing firm founded by his father.

October 29

John D. Turnbaugh, Mt. Carroll, dies at the age of seventy-one. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1914 to 1916 and the Illinois Senate from 1916 to 1924.

November 1

Mrs. Frank Granger Logan, patron of the arts for half a century, dies at her home in Chicago. Her husband, founder of the brokerage firm of Logan & Bryan, died six years ago.

The U.S. government seizes the nation's 3,000 coal mines when an estimated 530,000 miners refuse to work without a contract. The strike is the fourth general walkout since April 1, when the contracts between the unions and the operators expired. The government seized the mines on May 1 and completed their return to private ownership on October 12.

November 3

The 770 inmates of Joliet state prison will soon be transferred to Stateville penitentiary three miles away, according to announcement by T. P. Sullivan, director of the Illinois Department of Public Safety. The old prison is being evacuated because of its outmoded condition and the shortage of guards.

UMW President John L. Lewis and Solid Fuels Administrator Ickes agree on a contract giving miners \$8.50 a day for eight hours' work, figured on the entire time miners spend below ground. The present scale is \$7.00 for a seven-hour day figured on time actually spent at the mine seam or face. The contract must be approved by NWLB. Mr. Lewis orders the miners to return to work tomorrow after a three-day shutdown.

November 8

Dr. Thomas P. Gunning, member of the Illinois Senate since 1930, dies at the age of sixty-one. He had practiced dental surgery in Princeton since 1905.

November 9

Milton D. Smith, Chicago, dies at the age of fifty-two. He was serving his first term in the Illinois Senate.

November 14

Joseph A. Weber, member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1912 to 1918, dies at his home in Chicago. He had practiced law in Chicago for forty years.

November 19

Among twenty-six decisions handed down by the Illinois Supreme Court are the following: upholding of the constitutionality of the "guest statute" under which passengers riding free in automobiles, if killed or injured, have no right of action against the driver unless he is guilty of willful or wanton misconduct; reaffirmation of its January decision upholding the constitutionality of the unemployment compensation act; upholding of the right of cities to enact ordinances levying special licenses against out-of-state companies distributing products within a city.

November 20

NWLB approves the pact between the UMW and Solid Fuels Administrator Ickes except for minor changes. The basic weekly wage of miners will be \$57.07.

November 23

Charles Ray, former film actor and producer, dies in Hollywood, California. He was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1891.

November 26

The regional office of the War Manpower Commission orders a forty-eight hour week in the Chicago area effective December 1, with full compliance by January 16, 1944.

November 28

Clifford Older, bridge engineer of the Illinois State Highway Department from 1906 to 1917, and chief state highway engineer from 1917 to 1924, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He was the inventor of the steel road expansion joint.

November 30

A forty-eight hour week for eight Illinois counties is ordered by WMC, due to a shortage of labor in these areas. This extended work week was previously ordered for the Chicago area.

December 2

Chicago stockyards are jammed with a record number of hogs, 43,000 arriving in one day. Packers call a conference to decide what to do with holdover hogs which total 82,000 in two days.

December 3

The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Illinois' admission into the Union is observed at Vandalia, the second capital of the state. A mile-long parade of military units, bands, and defense groups is a part of the celebration.

WLB approves a seven-hour, six-day work week contract between the Progressive Miners of America and the Illinois Coal Operators' Association. Wage increases and portal-to-portal pay are allowed in the contract, which runs until March 1, 1945.

December 6

New ceiling prices on corn become effective, providing a boost from the prevailing level of \$1.07 to \$1.16, Chicago bases. The raise was made to stimulate the flow of the grain to market.

December 14

Dr. John J. McShane, chief of the division of communicable diseases in the Illinois State Department of Health since 1917, dies in Springfield at the age of sixty-five.

Edward T. Lee, dean of the John Marshall Law School in Chicago, dies at the age of eighty-three. Dean Lee had been connected with the faculty of the school ever since he helped organize it forty-four years ago.

December 15

Leaders of the five unions of railway operating employees announce that a nationwide strike has been called for December 30 to enforce their demands for a thirty per cent wage increase.

December 17

A two-year, no-strike agreement is included in a contract signed by UMW President Lewis and mine operators' associations representing two-thirds of the soft coal industry. The contract, which must be approved by NWLB, is substantially the same as the one now in force under an agreement signed by Mr. Lewis and Harold L. Ickes on November 3. A \$40 individual retroactive payment for underground travel time is also allowed in the new contract.

John T. Maloney of Joliet, serving his first term in the Illinois legislature, dies at the age of forty-eight.

December 21

Albert N. Marquis, founder and former editor of *Who's Who in America*, dies at his home in Evanston at the age of eighty-eight. He issued the first volume of *Who's Who* in 1899.

December 24

Two unions—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—call off the strike of their 230,000 members scheduled for December 30. The strike call of the conductors', firemen's, and switchmen's unions is still in effect, however.

December 27

The U.S. Army takes possession of the nation's vast railroad system. President Roosevelt orders the seizure so that transportation of war materiel can be continued.

Francis J. Loughran, Chicago, state senator from 1930 to 1942, dies at the age of fifty-three.

December 28

James C. McGloom, state representative from 1914 to 1918, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-four.

December 29

Arthur Henry Young, famous illustrator and political cartoonist, dies in New York at the age of seventy-seven. He was a native of Stephenson County, Illinois.

December 31

Illinois lawmakers are summoned by Governor Green to a special legislative session beginning January 7, 1944. The purpose of the session is to amend the state election laws to facilitate voting by Illinoisans in military service.

Summaries for the past year show that the value of the principal Illinois farm crops in 1943 was the highest in twenty-four years, with an aggregate of \$770,171,000 for all grain this year. Extraordinary corn and soybean production and generally higher prices are credited for the rise. Hog production reached an all-time peak of 11,009,000 head, a figure which is sixty-one per cent above the average of the preceding ten years. Summaries of the year's highway traffic in Illinois show that the total was twenty-eight per cent under that of 1942 and forty-one per cent under the 1941 figure.

HISTORICAL NOTES

FREE STATE GOVERNMENT FOR LOUISIANA

Benjamin F. Flanders, the author of this letter to Lincoln, was a leader in the movement to establish a free state government in Louisiana during the Civil War. A native of New Hampshire, he came to New Orleans in 1843 to study law and was admitted to the bar. He assisted in organizing the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad and served as secretary and treasurer from 1852 to 1861. When hostilities started, he fled north and did not return until after the federal occupation of New Orleans. General Benjamin F. Butler appointed him city treasurer. Flanders actively supported Lincoln's plan of reconstruction for Louisiana. In December, 1862, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. He accepted an appointment in 1863 as special agent for the Treasury Department charged with seizing Confederate cotton. He was military governor of Louisiana, 1867-1868, mayor of New Orleans, 1870-1872, assistant treasurer of the United States at New Orleans, 1873-1882.

The letter of Lincoln's which Flanders refers to is undoubtedly Lincoln's letter to General Nathaniel P. Banks of November 5, 1863. In this communication Lincoln voiced his disappointment that Banks and the free state men had done so little to get a loyal state government started and demanded action. The President said, "Mr. Flanders . . . is now here, and he says nothing has yet been done."¹ The men mentioned in Flanders' letter were leaders in the reconstruction movement: Thomas J. Durant, Michael Hahn, and John S. Whittaker, whose name is misspelled.

Flanders' letter as reproduced here is a copy of the original. It is in the Flanders Collection in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. In the same collection there is a copy of Lincoln's letter to Banks of August 5, 1863, concerning reconstruction in Louisiana. As given in the *Complete Works*,² Lincoln "indorsed" on this letter:

Copies sent to Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant, each indorsed as follows:

The within is a copy of a letter to General Banks.

Please observe my directions to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

August 6, 1863.

A. Lincoln.

¹ John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), IX: 200-202.

² *Ibid.*, 56-58.

The copy of the letter in the Flanders Collection bears on the back in Lincoln's writing:

Hon. B. F. Flanders.

The within is a copy of a letter to Gen. Banks. Please observe my direction to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

A. Lincoln

Aug. 6, 1863.

Flanders' letter reads as follows:

OFFICE ASSISTANT SPECIAL AGENT,
TREASURY DEPARTMENT.
SEIZED HOUSES AND FURNITURE.
NEW-ORLEANS, Dec 11 1863.

SIR

I have shown the copy which you permitted me to take of your letter to Gen Banks, to Mr Durant. Mr. Hahn Judge Whitaker and a few others of our prominent union men and it gives entire satisfaction and much encouragement. It has had a most salutary effect upon the military leaders. They have been stimulated by it to action. There is now and I believe there will continue to be zeal and unity of action among the friends of the government and its officers civil and military in the effort about to be made for the formation of a State, a *free* State Government for Louisiana.

I believe the measures which will be taken to attain the great object we have in view will be characterized by prudence, and we all hope they will have your approval and their result meet your expectations.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your Obedient Servt

BENJ. F. FLANDERS

Some years later—in 1888—Flanders was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for state treasurer. He died on his estate near Youngsville, Louisiana, in 1896.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS.

BATON ROUGE, LA.

ACROSS THE CENTURY IN THE CHICAGO CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1843-1943

Of great importance to the second largest city in the nation is the centenary of the Archdiocese of Chicago, which was established as a diocese on November 28, 1843. This event was highlighted on November 14, 1943, by a Solemn Pontifical Mass in the Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago.

A few minutes before twelve noon, the time at which the Mass was celebrated, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priests from all over the country marched in solemn procession up the center aisle of the Holy Name Cathedral, which had been decorated with the papal and American colors to form an avenue of flags from the main entrance to the sanctuary. The Chicago flag, designed by Wallace Rice and accepted as the official flag of the city by an act of the city council in 1917, was also used for decorative purposes. On top of the Chicago flag was the Chicago shield designed by Dr. Josiah Goodhue in 1837.

An augmented choir of more than two hundred voices sang the Mass. Five choirs participated in the ceremony. These were the Cathedral Choristers, the Priests' Choir, the St. Mary of the Lake Seminary Choir, and the Gregorian Schola of the St. Mary of the Lake Seminary and the Quigley Seminary Plain Chant Choir. The Cathedral Symphony Orchestra of thirty members accompanied the singing of the Mass with Professor Alfred Wideman at the organ.

On Tuesday, November 16, a solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated for priests and religious conducting schools in the archdiocese; and on November 20, there was a solemn requiem Mass for all the deceased archbishops, bishops, priests and religious, who have during the past one hundred years served the archdiocese.

Though the history of the Archdiocese of Chicago spans a full one hundred years, Catholicity in what is now Chicago goes back to December 4, 1674, when the Jesuit missionary, Father Jacques Marquette, reached the mouth of the Chicago River on his journey from Green Bay to establish a mission for the Illinois Indians. After Marquette many French missionaries traversed the land now covered by Chicago. Father St. Cosmé founded the Fathers of the Foreign Missions at Cahokia after his arrival in 1699; and priests from the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Canada continued their ministrations in Cahokia until 1763. Canada was the base of the Illinois missions until June 9, 1784, when a decree was issued by Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, appointing the Very Reverend John Carroll superior of the missions in the United States. From 1784 until 1811 this territory was under the direct supervision of Bishop Carroll.

During the administration of Bishop Carroll the Illinois territory passed under the direct supervision of the Most Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget, bishop of the newly erected Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky. However, this territory remained within the Province of Baltimore until 1847. On March 20, 1827, the Most Reverend Joseph Rosati was appointed bishop of the recently founded Diocese of St. Louis and the Chicago

territory then passed under his jurisdiction. The Diocese of Vincennes was erected in 1834 and the Most Reverend Simon Gabriel Bruté was appointed bishop. This diocese included Indiana and Illinois.

The first Mass in modern Chicago was celebrated in the log cabin of Mark Beaubien on May 5, 1833, by Father John Mary Iranaeus St. Cyr who was resident pastor of Chicago at this time. Shortly after this the first church was built at the cost of \$400.

The Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held on May 14, 1843, recommended the erection of new sees at Chicago, Hartford, Milwaukee, and Little Rock; and a vicariate apostolic in Oregon. They also repeated their request for a see at Pittsburgh. All these petitions were granted and the Most Reverend William Quarter was appointed to the See of Chicago on November 28, 1843. Bishop Quarter took up his episcopal duties in the new see on May 10, 1844. After four years of arduous missionary labor Bishop Quarter died on April 10, 1848. He was succeeded by the Most Reverend James Oliver van de Velde, S.J., who arrived in Chicago on April 11, 1849. He resigned his see in September, 1853, when his health failed. He was transferred to the See of Natchez where he died on November 13, 1855. He was followed by the Most Reverend Anthony O'Regan, who was installed as Bishop of Chicago on September 23, 1854.

In 1857 the See of Alton (since 1923 the Diocese of Springfield) received a part of the Chicago diocese. In 1858 Bishop O'Regan resigned and retired to a quiet retreat at Michael Grove, Brompton, England, where he died on November 13, 1866.

Chicago's fourth bishop, the Most Reverend James Duggan, had acted as the administrator of the diocese upon the resignation of Bishop van de Velde, S. J., and was therefore no stranger. Under him the parochial school system of Chicago was organized and many charitable institutions were built. Because of serious illness he was relieved of his duties in 1869. (He died in a sanitarium in St. Louis, Missouri, thirty years later.) The Very Reverend T. J. Halligan took charge of the affairs of the diocese until the Most Reverend Thomas Foley was appointed Coadjutor Bishop and Administrator of the Diocese in February, 1870. The great Chicago fire demolished about one million dollars worth of ecclesiastical property including St. Mary Cathedral, which was replaced by the present Holy Name Cathedral during the administration of Coadjutor Bishop Foley.

Out of the great Chicago fire grew a greater metropolis and by 1872 the Diocese of Chicago had become so unwieldy that the Coadjutor Bishop Foley recommended another division. Accordingly that year the Diocese of Peoria was created and the Most Reverend John Joseph Spauld-

ing was consecrated its first bishop. On the Bishop's death, February 19, 1879, there were about 300 churches in the Chicago Diocese and 206 priests.

The Diocese of Chicago was elevated to the rank of an archdiocese by a decree of the Holy See dated September 10, 1880; and the Most Reverend Patrick Augustine Feehan, bishop of Nashville, became the first archbishop. Three years later Archbishop Feehan went to Rome to help prepare the matter for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Failing health forced him in 1899 to petition Rome for an auxiliary. On May 1, 1899, the Most Reverend Alexander J. McGavick, the present Bishop of La Crosse, became the first auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Chicago. The second auxiliary was appointed on July 25, 1901, in the person of the Most Reverend Peter J. Muldoon. Bishop Muldoon became Bishop of Rockford, Illinois, when this diocese was created from a section of the Chicago archdiocese on September 28, 1908. He died in Rockford, Illinois, in 1927. Archbishop Feehan died at the archiepiscopal residence in Chicago on July 12, 1902.

The Most Reverend James E. Quigley became the second archbishop of Chicago on January 8, 1903. He was particularly noted for his work on behalf of the laboring classes. After his death on July 10, 1915, Auxiliary Bishop George Mundelein of Brooklyn was promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Chicago and a very great honor was brought to Illinois when Pope Pius XI created him the "first Cardinal Priest of the West" on March 24, 1924.

As first Cardinal west of the Atlantic seaboard Cardinal Mundelein gained fame as a builder and an organizer. He was host at the Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress which was held in Chicago on June 20-24, 1926. George Cardinal Mundelein died on October 2, 1939. The Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Amleto G. Cicognani, apostolic delegate to the United States.

The Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch, D. D., was consecrated the fourth archbishop of Chicago on January 3, 1940. His auxiliaries are the Most Reverend William D. O'Brien, president of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, who is noted for his work among the Catholic Youth of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

SISTER M. LILLIANA OWENS, S. L.

KANKAKEE, ILL.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

[*The question of the place of founding of the Republican Party has been in dispute for many years. Best known claimants are Ripon, Wisconsin, and Jackson, Michigan, but the following article taken from the Illinois State Journal, June 27, 1879, indicates that the claim of Illinois is not to be neglected—Editor.*]

[From the Chicago Journal]

Republicans in different parts of the country are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the party. The *Journal*, a few days ago, in alluding to the celebration by Massachusetts Republicans, quoted one of the speakers as conceding that "Massachusetts was not the first to organize the Republican party, as Michigan and Illinois had preceded us by some time; then we followed their example, and New York, Pennsylvania and other States wheeled into line." The item attracted the attention of George Schneider, Esq., of this city, who, as one of the founders of the Republican party, comes forward to claim for Illinois as a State and Chicago as the city the honor of being the birth-place of this great political organization. He has abundance of facts and figures to back up his claim, and it is from him that the following brief sketch of the organization of the party was obtained today by a *Journal* reporter:

On January 4, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced the Nebraska bill, which at once, on account of its proposed abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, limiting the extension of slavery, produced great excitement throughout the country. On the 29th of January Mr. Schneider, who was then the editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, and other gentlemen, called a meeting at Warner's Hall, on Randolph street near Clark. George Hillgartner, M. Gindele, then Commissioner of Public Works, and others attended the meeting, which passed resolutions against the Nebraska bill, then before Congress. This was the first meeting to protest against it that was held in this country. On the 30th of March the bill passed. Then the first formal protest was issued against the bill, at a meeting of delegates of the Galena District at Rockford, Ill. The Convention called to take action was the first to make a political nomination on the strength of the anti-Nebraska platform, which was then and there adopted, Hon. E. B. Washburne being chosen for Congress. The next convention of this character was held the same year at Aurora, Ill., at which James H. Woodworth, of Chicago, was nominated for Congress for this district. At the time of this excitement against the extension of slavery the so-called Know-Nothing party was in existence. The Aurora convention was composed mostly of this element, but it

nevertheless passed anti-Nebraska resolutions. The opponents of the bill in this State had by this time become quite strong, but their continuance as a united force was threatened by the divisions caused or attempted by the Know-Nothings. The *Staats-Zeitung*, under Mr. Schneider, and the *Evening Journal*, under the editorial direction of the late Charles L. Wilson, were the first to support the opposition to the bill and prevent the Republicans—for the party had become by this time entitled to a name—from being confined to the exclusively native American element. The *Chicago Tribune*, which was at that time under Stewart, supported the native element; but under Dr. Ray and Mr. Medill, it changed front and favored the coalition of the liberal German and American elements and the opponents of the measure introduced by Senator Douglas. "Long John" Wentworth was then a Democrat, and represented this district in Congress. When the resolutions passed at Warner's Hall were sent to him, he wrote or telegraphed back that he was glad to see that the "boys" were against the Nebraska bill, and that he would go with the "boys." He was the first Democrat to break away from that party and vote with the Republicans. The position of the *Journal* and the *Staats-Zeitung* at that time was a difficult one, as they were opposing the efforts of the native American element—which was then very powerful—as well as the Democrats. The *Journal* was a Seward Whig paper, and followed Mr. Seward's lead. Its influence, and that of the *Staats-Zeitung*, saved the young party from the control of the anti-foreign element, and gave it the liberal counsels which enabled it to carry Wisconsin and other Northwestern States.

The next move in the line of protest against the Nebraska bill was the call, by Illinois editors for the Decatur convention. Abraham Lincoln appeared at this meeting, and favored the resolutions which were introduced against the Nebraska bill. He also spoke in support of a resolution, which was strongly opposed by editors of Know-Nothing papers, guaranteeing the rights of naturalized citizens under the naturalization laws. In fact, the conflicting tendencies of the discordant elements in the convention were submitted to him for direction as to the future policy of the party. The resolution introduced by him relating to Know-Nothingism was merely a declaration of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and it was owing to his influence that the young Republican party in Illinois took that liberal stand in favor of equal rights, which was also the means uniting the Germans with the party.

The first State Delegate Convention of the party was held at Bloomington, Ill., in the spring of 1856. It nominated State officers and elected delegates to the National Convention, which met at Philadelphia and

nominated Fremont for President. The late Norman B. Judd, ex-Governor John M. Palmer, W. T. Brown, of Alton, George Schneider, C. L. Wilson, and others were delegates, and they offered at Philadelphia the anti-Nebraska and anti-Know-Nothingism resolutions which had been adopted at the two Illinois conventions. There was a fierce struggle with the eastern delegates on Know-Nothingism, but the Illinois delegates succeeded in winning their consent to the embodiment of a resolution against proscription of foreign-born citizens in the national platform of 1858. This act bound the liberal element of the entire Northwest to the support of the party, although it at the same time kept out [of] the Republican party the Know-Nothing-native American element of the old Whig party, which then joined the Democratic party, which then, as now, was one of narrow views.

The record thus shows the justice of the claim of Illinois to the first public opposition to the Nebraska bill, the first organization against it, the first nominations of members of Congress by this opposition, and the union of discordant elements by the adoption of liberal views on the question of naturalization, and thus to the laying of the formation of the Republican party.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

ILLINOIS STATE OFFICERS, 1858

When in the capital I did myself the honour of visiting the Governor, who lives in a handsome house provided for him by the State, who also grant him the modest revenue of 500 L a year. He was a distinguished soldier in the Mexican war, and had long been one of the Senators of Congress.¹ He has the highest hopes of the future of Illinois, and he, like other men of character and position to whom I have put the question, expressed the belief that fever and ague in this State are on the decline, though from special causes there had this year been an exceptional prevalence of both.

I visited also the State House, where the two branches of the State Legislature hold their sittings, and in which are the bureaux of the various state officers. The Secretary of State² very politely showed me over the building; the State Auditor³ supplied me with documents showing the valuation and taxation of the State; and the Treasurer, who looks up the money and disburses it exactly like the clerk in a bank, for which he is paid a salary of 400 L a year, explained to me the rate of taxation in the State, the desire they all had to pay off their debt, the present increased rate to which they submitted for that object, the probability of a future decrease in expense, and the general frugality of the management. There is a total absence of form and ceremony about these gentlemen, who are high officers of State. The Secretary of State acts also as librarian. He and his clerk conduct the public correspondence and business. While I was there a man, about thirty, with his hat on and his hands in his pockets, came lounging in, and, after listening to our conversation for a while, asked if this was the Secretary, because he wanted to get some information about an old county road of which no record could be found in his county, but which he "reckoned" would be posted up at the capital in the books of the State. The Secretary immediately went off to "fix" him about the road. In the same way the Auditor was at everybody's call, and the Treasurer also. The officers of State are not above doing their own work here.

¹ William H. Bissell was governor of Illinois from January 12, 1857, until his death on March 18, 1860. He served as a colonel of the 2nd Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the Mexican War, and was a member of the United State House of Representatives from 1849 to 1855.

² Ozias M. Hatch.

³ Jesse K. Dubois.

If there is not much official ceremony, there is a total absence of it in the manners of the bulk of the people. The nasty habit of chewing tobacco, and spitting, not only gives them a dirty look, but makes them disagreeable companions. They eat so fast, and are so silent, and run off so soon when they have finished their meals, that really eating in this country is more like the feeding of a parcel of brutes than men. The food is both various and plentiful, but it is generally badly cooked and served.

JAMES CAIRD, *Prairie Farming in America* (London, 1859), 59-61.

ON THE HEALTH OF FRONTIERSMEN

Having made arrangements with our Rock river Jehu, the Dutchman of former notice, to take me to Peoria, punctual to the time he roused me from my slumbers at an hour before dawn, and mounting again our lumbering vehicle I bade adieu to the pleasant little town of Tremont, where I had formed many pleasant acquaintances, and with whom my parting would have been far more painful but for the conviction that I should ere long again press their friendly hands. We found the morning air delicious, and enjoyed it with a double zest as the clear calm rising of the sun portended a hot and sultry day. We reached the river and having roused the ferryman, we embarked "to cross the ferry." While our man of the boat tugged at the rope by which he drew us over the sluggish stream, we chatted with him of matters pertaining to his vocation. He told us that it was mighty sickly there, every body had "the chills and fever." By every body we suppose he meant those in the same employment as himself, as his knowledge could have extended but little further. I was struck with the air of pride with which he boasted of his own iron health. "These *suckers*"—a term applied generally to settlers in Illinois—"are a tame race—they can't bear a mighty severe scraghin. Why, where I was raised, in old Kentuck, if a man should ketch the chills he'd be laughed at. Why, I could lie *in* this river every night and not be sick, I reckon. But let a gentle *dew* fall on a *sucker*, and crack—he's got the shakes."

A. D. JONES, *Illinois and the West* (1838), 230-31.

AMERICAN NOMENCLATURE

We were specially struck with the curious names which the people have given to their towns, and the railway companies to their stations. Ever since we declared it impossible to hear or know what the brakesman shouted on approaching a railway station, we had given some little attention to the nomenclature of the New World; but the subject became

specially interesting between Cincinnati and St. Louis, and not less so between St. Louis and Chicago. In fact, we found curious names more or less frequent in all our rambles, and they were often a source of annoyance to us. One day, a railway official asked us the name of the railway by which we had come, and in our effort to pronounce it he laughed. "Then," said I, trying to spell it, "How do you pronounce 'C-h-e-s-a-p-e-a-k-e?'" and how do you pronounce 'M-o-n-o-n-g-a-h-e-l-a?'" In articulating these names he seemed to have little difficulty; but I questioned if he pronounced them according to their spelling. In retaining the names given to places by the Indians, which were somewhat in harmony with European notions of spelling and pronunciation, the early European settlers might be quite justified. The Indians had some reason for naming the island on which the city of New York now stands, "Manhattan Island," signifying in their language "The Drunken Island;" and nothing could be more appropriately named than the Falls of Niagara, signifying "Thundering Waters." But why the early emigrants from the old country adopted such names as Brutus and Babylon, Hannibal and Marathon, Tombstone and Rawhide, Jack and Java, Volney and Vienna, Dayton, Doctortown, and Dirttown, Syracuse and Troy, Ithaca, Utica, Memphis, and Thebes, is not so easy to divine. Coming down the Hudson from Albany to New York, the names of places common in Egypt and on the continent of Europe were neither few nor far between. We saw no resemblance whatever between the Cairo of the New World and the Cairo of Egypt. Had the American people only directed their attention to the process of inventing names for their towns and cities more appropriate, they would doubtless have been as successful as they have been in all other matters. Inventiveness, if we mistake not, is their chief characteristic. "Albany" may continue after the royal son who bore it; "New York," in memory of the Royal Duke of York, in honour of whom it was given. Washington, Baltimore, Pennsylvania, Carolina, Virginia, Rochester, and many other such, are appropriate enough; but, in the name of common sense, they should do away with such outrageous designations as Hellgate, Dirttown, Schleisingerville, Schenectady, Hogspen, Cutskin, Black Jack, and Cut-off. We found hundreds of names which we could not by any possibility pronounce, and we were often curious to notice how they themselves got round them. One name they have most ingeniously managed to twist from its original form and sound of "Hell-to-Pay" to "Eltopia." If that is not ingenious, I wonder what is?

So many places of the same name, we felt to be confusing. There are, at least, ten Alexandrias, six Almas, three Antiochs, nine Athens, so many Baltimores, Bedfords, and Bangors, two Jerusalems, two Jerichos,

four Jordans, six Bethels, two Bethanys, and one Bethlehem. Notwithstanding that certain particulars are added to each of these to prevent mistakes, blunders often happen. Democracy may be all very good, but the founders of the commonwealth should have ruled certain things out of order, and Congress might now spend an hour or two with advantage suggesting remedies for certain things which have obviously gone wrong.

JOHN KERR CAMPBELL, *Through the United States and Canada* (London, 1886?), 182-85.

THE FIRST COMMERCIAL CLUB IN ILLINOIS?

ALBION MARKET CLUB

The Albion Market Club propose dining together every Saturday at Albion Hotel.

Their object is to facilitate and extend the trade of the town, and all persons having corn grain vegetables or other articles for sale will find encouragement by attending at Albion on the Saturday which is the principal market day at that place.

The advantages attendant on such an institution is that persons wishing to hire labor may find it likely to hear of jobs, make contracts, and in fact transact all kinds of business, which will save the time and trouble of traveling miles from place to place oftentimes losing more time in the sale of an article or the making of a contract than the thing is worth. . . .

As a dinner will be provided for all persons who belong to the Club, it is agreed that absentees are to pay the same as if present.

[Signed] Henry Birkett, George Flower, James Oliver, Chas. Pugsley, Thomas Horsburgh, Danl. Orange, Joseph Hanks.

MS (undated but about 1820) in
Edwards County Historical Society.

THE PATH TO WEALTH

If the scholar will in any way bring his knowledge to bear upon the practical interests of society, he may do well enough. If he will teach a country school for from twenty to thirty dollars per month, and "board round," he may soon get the good will and esteem of the community. He must be careful not to use a language which is "all Greek" to his hearers—must treat every one with respect and kindness—must take an interest in the welfare of every family, and, at the same time, turn a deaf ear to the small scandal and small gossip of the neighborhood.

A young man may learn more that is really useful by teaching a country school for one winter, than in twice that time spent in college—that is, if he thoroughly studies the living "subjects" around him. If he has tact and good sense enough to keep on the right side of his pupils and their parents he is then fairly started on the highway to honor and distinction. He can then go and make his "claim," or his purchase of wild land, and prepare to set up as a farmer. If he had not a cent in his pocket when he came to the "settlement," if he is orderly, prudent, and industrious for a year, his credit will be established.

He can then purchase what may be indispensable, in the way of a team and implements, for starting business on a small scale. After toiling on a year or two more, some one of the bright-eyed maidens who attended his school, will begin to pity his lonely condition, and consent to share the joys and the sorrows of life with him.

A small house is then built, and is enlarged as the inmates multiply. The farm is also enlarged as the wealth of the owner is increased. Orchards are planted—ornamental trees, shrubs and vines start up, and grow luxuriantly about the house. The house itself, having been built a piece at a time, from the necessities of the hour, begins to look shabby, and yet below the condition of the owner,—a new and splendid one is accordingly built, near the site of the old one, so as to save the shrubs and trees for the new lawn. The old house is sold to some new settler, and taken away.

The poor schoolmaster has become a man of affluence, and has filled various public offices with advantage to the State, and with credit and honor to himself.

This is no dream,—no fancy sketch—but the literal history, so far as it goes, of thousands of our western farmers.

EDSON HARKNESS, quoted by FRED. GERHARD, *Illinois As It Is* (1857), 450-51.

NEWS AND COMMENT

With this issue, the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* comes out with a new cover, not so much because of dissatisfaction with the old—although brown is not one of the spectrum's most alluring shades—but because in these days one takes what one can get, and likes it. At the moment, that happens to be green. No predictions regarding what may be available six months hence are hazarded.

In order to save paper in compliance with government requirements, the *Journal's* type page has been somewhat enlarged. The enlargement, though hardly noticeable until the old and new are placed side by side, will in itself result in a paper saving of sixteen per cent. The remainder of the saving requested is being effected by limiting content.



Agriculture, industry, transportation, and mining—these are the foundations of the economic greatness of Illinois. Yet in the historical literature of the state only transportation has been covered with anything like adequacy. In the other three fields the failure is most marked in the case of mining. For that reason alone, McAlister Coleman's *Men and Coal*¹ should be welcomed. It is not a history of coal mining in Illinois, nor of the miners' unions, but in its pages is to be found more historical material on both subjects than is available in any other single volume, at least to the Editor's knowledge.

Dealing in considerable part with John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America, and emphasizing the strikes of the last year, *Men and Coal* covers a highly controversial subject. But Coleman, being at pains to explain attitudes which to the general public are inexplicable if not inexcusable, deals at some length with the history of miners' unionism. Most Illinoisans will be surprised to learn the extent of the state's influence in the movement. As early as the Civil War Illinois furnished strong labor leaders in Daniel Weaver and John Hinchcliffe—the first names on a roster that includes John Mitchell, "General" Alexander Bradley, John H. Walker, Oscar Ameringer, and, in 1944, Ray Edmundson and John L. Lewis. Unfortunately, the state stands out almost as prominently in its record of violence, as Spring Valley (1888), Virden

¹ Farrar & Rinehart. \$3.00.

(1898), and Herrin (1922) testify. Incidentally, Coleman's account of the Herrin "Massacre" is the fairest short account of that dark and bloody occurrence that the Editor has seen.

McAlister Coleman is a "labor journalist," which means that he has been writing for miners' papers, or writing about miners, for the last thirty years. In *Men and Coal* his sympathies are with the men; and of the men John L. Lewis is his pick. But discount what may be called his prejudices: his book remains a contribution to an understanding of both past and present Illinois.



On November 12, 1893, the Chicago Civic Federation was organized by a group of citizens determined to clean up the city. For twenty-five years it crusaded for better government, better schools, more effective relief and charity—in short, for general civic improvement. Often it failed to achieve its ends, but without its efforts, many aspects of life in Chicago would have been worse than they were. In 1917 the Federation limited its objectives to the improvement of public finance and taxation, and since that date it has made a notable record in its field.

*Fifty Years on the Civic Front*² is the story of the Chicago Civic Federation and its achievements, published to commemorate the organization's fiftieth anniversary. The author, Douglas Sutherland, has served as executive secretary since 1910.



Early Illinois Copyright Entries, 1821-1850, by Douglas C. McMurtrie,³ contains a list of all titles entered for copyright in Illinois during the period when copyright claims were filed with the clerks of the federal district courts. The list comprises eighty-four titles, forty-six of which have not been located in any of thirty-seven public and private collections which the compiler has consulted. Many of the known copies, moreover, exist in only one or two institutions. Of the thirty-eight known copies, eighteen are to be found in the Illinois State Historical Library.



Frank Lee Beals, assistant superintendent, Chicago Public Schools, has written an appealing account of the greatest Indian in Illinois history—Black Hawk, chief of the Sauks.⁴ Intended for grade school children, the biography is enlivened by conversation, and the emphasis is

² The Civic Federation, Chicago.

³ The author, Evanston, Ill. \$1.50.

⁴ *Chief Black Hawk*. Wheeler Publishing Co., Chicago. \$1.28.

upon the dramatic aspects of the story; nevertheless, there has been no important departure from the established facts of Black Hawk's life.

Jack Merryweather's spirited illustrations add interest.



Here, in fictional form,⁵ is the story of the Donner Party—that group of California emigrants from Sangamon County, Illinois, who were blocked by snow in the Sierra Nevadas in the winter of 1846-1847, and underwent an ordeal almost without parallel in the annals of the Overland Trail. Only by eating the flesh of those who died—almost half of the original number—did the survivors manage to live until rescue parties broke through to them.

Vardis Fisher begins his story when the first September snow brought grim warning of disaster. He follows the doomed emigrants to their camps on the shores of Lake Truckee, and makes real the awful suffering they endured there. The book ends with the death of Tamsen Donner, just as a rescue party brought promise of life.

Readers of *The Mothers* who are unfamiliar with the details of the Donner tragedy are likely to wonder whether the book is a faithful reconstruction of what actually happened, or whether the horrors it pictures are heightened by a novelist's imagination. The answer to that question may be found in the best factual study, G. R. Stewart's *Ordeal by Hunger*. But that is recommended only to those who have strong stomachs.



The New World, official Catholic paper of Chicago, marked the centennial of the Archdiocese of Chicago with a special edition on November 12, 1943. Part Three of the special edition is a gravure supplement of ninety-six pages, well written, handsomely illustrated, and well printed. In it are to be found accounts of the Church under the five bishops and four archbishops who have guided her destinies since the diocese of Chicago was erected on November 28, 1843, and also histories and descriptions of the archdiocesan institutions—the schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, religious and charitable organizations that have flourished in the largest Catholic diocese in the North American continent.

The editors of *The New World* have put together, in this centennial edition, a body of historical facts that will be of permanent value.

⁵ Vardis Fisher, *The Mothers*. Vanguard Press. \$2.50.

In most Illinois communities the Roman Catholic church followed, often by a good many years, the establishment of Protestant churches. Kankakee is a case in point. There no Catholic church was established until 1874, when the Immaculate Conception parish, later called St. Mary parish, was founded. This parish was made up principally of German communicants, and nineteen more years were to pass before the Irish were numerous enough to organize a church of their own—St. Patrick Church. But, though founded late, St. Patrick Church has grown so steadily that it is now served by a pastor and four assistants. Fittingly, in 1943, it marked its fiftieth anniversary by the publication of an eighty-page history, the work of Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S. L. In addition to a historical sketch, the booklet contains the names of pastors and assistant priests, members of long standing, parishioners who served in World War I and are serving in the present war, and many illustrations.



The October, 1943, issue of the *Egyptian Key*, published at Carbondale, contains an interesting article in which the cherished legend that George Rogers Clark's men carried the Stars and Stripes in their campaign of 1778-1779 is controverted. Milo M. Quaife, author of *The Flag of the United States*, is cited to the effect that if Clark's men carried any flag at all—and they probably didn't—it would have been the flag of Virginia or the American Eagle of the United States Army rather than the Stars and Stripes. R. C. Ballard Thruston, authority on Clark and on the history of the flag, is also quoted, and adduces evidence to show that Clark had no flag at all, at least during the first part of his campaign. The evidence presented by these scholars is conclusive—or as nearly conclusive as historical evidence ever is.

But Will Griffith, who wrote the *Egyptian Key* article, will find that in spite of his neat demonstration, the people of southern Illinois will continue to believe that Clark carried the Stars and Stripes, just as they believe that De Soto built their prehistoric stone forts, and that Lafayette slept in every village below the National Road, and that Lincoln jumped from the second story of the Vandalia Statehouse. (The other sections of the state, let us hasten to add, have their baseless traditions too!) Moreover, they will not feel very kindly towards him for trying—note the word—to inject historical truth into the folklore of the region. There is no task more futile nor more thankless. And none, for him who attempts it, that is more fun!

Illinois observed the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its admission to the Union with ceremonies held at Vandalia on December 3, 1943. A mile-long parade of military units, bands, and defense groups was followed by a program which was broadcast over a network of Illinois radio stations. Governor Dwight H. Green and Judge John D. Biggs were the principal speakers. Others taking part in the program included: Ross Mallery, chairman, the Reverend Henry P. Aykens, Mayor Fred A. Meyers, Senator Arnold P. Benson, the Reverend Francis Gribbin, and Senator George D. Mills. The day's events were planned by a committee of the Illinois legislature in co-operation with the Vandalia Chamber of Commerce and other civic organizations.

When Illinois became a state in 1818, the village of Kaskaskia, which had been the territorial capital, was made the state's first capital. The seat of government was moved to Vandalia in 1820, and in 1836 the southern colonial building which is still standing was erected. Several years ago this building, known as the Vandalia State House, was restored to its early appearance by the State of Illinois.



Miss Margaret C. Norton, Springfield, Illinois, was elected president of the Society of American Archivists at its annual meeting last November. Miss Norton has been State Archivist of Illinois since 1922.



Irving Dilliard, a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society and a Trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, is now a Captain in the United States Army and is serving with the Psychological Warfare Branch in England. Captain Dilliard, in civil life an editorial writer on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was commissioned late in the summer of 1943. After basic training, he entered the American Military Government School at Charlottesville, Virginia, from which he was graduated late in the fall. He has been overseas since early December.



Paul M. Angle, Editor of the *Journal* and Secretary of the Society, has been given a leave of absence to enable him to serve temporarily as a special consultant with the Army Air Forces. At present he is organizing a historical section for the Air Service Command at Patterson Field, Ohio. In December and January he made a survey of the Historical Division of the Army Air Forces at the request of Army Air Forces Headquarters. He

expects to return to the Society in May. During his absence Jay Monaghan is acting as Secretary.



O. L. Nordstrom, professor of economics at Augustana College, was re-elected president of the Augustana Historical Society in November, 1943. Dr. O. F. Ander, professor of history, now on leave, was named vice-president. Dr. E. W. Olson and Birger Swenson were elected secretary and treasurer, respectively.

This organization, the official historical society of the Augustana Synod, is making plans to publish a complete narrative history of the synod and its activities in North America. Publication is planned for 1948, the one hundredth anniversary of the synod.



Because of the shortage of fuel oil, the museum building of the Aurora Historical Society has been forced to operate on a shortened schedule this winter. The building is now open to the public on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons, and on Tuesday and Thursday by appointment.



During the last three months of 1943 the Boone County Historical Society presented a series of varied programs in Belvidere. In October, members of the Hurlbut Women's Relief Corps, directed by Mrs. Nellie Burroughs, provided the entertainment. In November, F. C. Keeler, county superintendent of schools, talked on the life of Charles Hill Roe, early Baptist minister. In December, Mrs. Thomas Willard, former associate superintendent of local schools, spoke on "School Days."

Election of officers for the new year took place at the January meeting of the Boone County organization. The following persons were named to office: Willis E. Griffeth, president; Thomas Beckington, Fred A. Marean, P. H. O'Donnell, Mrs. John Oberholser, and Mrs. David Patton, vice-presidents; Mrs. Charles Grosvenor, secretary; Mrs. Maude Curtis, corresponding secretary; Fred Warren, treasurer; Harry Perkins, custodian; and R. V. Carpenter, historian. Trustees elected were Fred C. Keeler, E. B. Glass, Mrs. Alva McMaster, A. J. Tripp, and C. Fred Lewis.

At this meeting, also, it was decided to revive the testimonial dinner and program for members of the 75-Year Club. This group, organized about five years ago, includes residents who were born in the county seventy-five or more years ago or who have lived in the county for that period.

In a county-wide tag day sponsored by the Bureau County Historical Society last October a total of \$377.18 was realized. This sum will be used for the support of the Society's museum in the courthouse at Princeton. In addition to this general fund, two friends of the Society have donated \$100 apiece for the special display case fund.



"History and Public Health" was the subject of the address made by Dr. Eric Lehr, Belleville, to members of the Cahokia Historical Society last October. At the business meeting following the program, members of the Society voted to sponsor a junior achievement project for a group of boys.

At the annual dinner meeting of the Society last December, Stanley Erikson, historian in charge of records and research for the Illinois War Council, Chicago, spoke on "The Contributions of Historical Societies to the War Effort." Guests of honor were "Spot Light Citizens" selected by the Society because of their outstanding civic achievements during the year.



The Chicago Historical Society has recently had on display at its old building on North Dearborn Street an unusual miniature railroad exhibit installed by Elmer B. Tolsted. The sixteen electric locomotives operate over 3,000 feet of track, crossing rivers and streams on bridges, ferrying across a lake, and stopping at several villages and towns. The exhibit occupies three large rooms of the building.



The Englewood Historical Association (Chicago) held its seventh annual dinner meeting on December 7, 1943. The following speeches were included on the program: "Present Day Englewood: Its Problems, Plans and Progress," by Robert G. Cleveland; "Recollections of Earlier Days in Englewood," by the Reverend C. G. Kindred; "Englewood Possibilities and our Nation's Future," by Frank C. Rathje. Announcements were made by Willis E. Tower, president, and community singing was led by George Gordon. Reports from the junior historical associations were heard, and Mrs. Charles S. Clark presented awards to the schools.



Russell W. Ballard, director of Hull House, was the guest speaker at the annual meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) on

January 17. A Junior West Side Historical Society has recently been founded under the leadership of Otto L. Eisenschiml, president of the Society's board of directors. Miss Betty Rumney is president of this group of high school young people.

Three types of membership were recently introduced by the West Side Historical Society—associate, sustaining, and life. A campaign for new members is now being conducted by members of the Society.

The DuPage County Historical Society, organized in 1936 and incorporated in 1940, has undertaken a county-wide membership enrollment. H. A. Berens, president of the organization, recently stated: "We hope to enroll hundreds of men and women who love DuPage County and believe as we do that its history and lore as well as its natural beauty should be made accessible to all our citizens and our visitors, but most especially to the growing generation of our children to help them cherish and preserve our democracy."

Officers who will assist President Berens during the coming year include: Theodore F. Hammerschmidt, vice-president; Mrs. Miles Sater, secretary; and R. E. Klein, treasurer. The remaining board members are: Alben Bates, Miss Gladys Cable, Marshall Keig, Hugh Dugan, Miss Hattie Glos, Mrs. E. O. Linden, J. T. Schless, Mrs. F. W. Schulze, Mrs. Lora Conley, and Robert L. McKee.



Histories of early settlements in Edwards County have been discussed on recent programs of the Edwards County Historical Society. At the November, 1943, meeting, A. M. Walton gave sketches of the Lexington community, and Mrs. L. W. Bassett read an account of the Bone Gap area. The December meeting was devoted to the towns of Bennington and Ellery, with E. L. Dukes presenting a paper on these communities.



The Evanston Historical Society opened its forty-fifth season in November, 1943, by joining with the First Presbyterian Church in presenting Professor Isaac J. Cox who gave a sketch of the First Presbyterian Church. The church was then celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary. At the December meeting of the Historical Society, Professor James T. Hatfield repeated his lecture on "Old Evanston" by popular request. In January, Jay Monaghan, editor in the Illinois State Historical Library, discussed "The Primrose Path to History."



Another historical society has been added to the list of local societies in Illinois. The Geneva Historical Society was organized last December and the following officers were elected: Leon Wheeler, president; Cadwell P. Mead, first vice-president; Mrs. Emil Bergquist, second vice-president; Miss Elva Garfield, secretary; Miss Jeanita Peterson, treasurer. The board of directors, also elected at that time, include: Mrs. Harry White, Mrs. Edwin Soderstrom, Mrs. Julie Turner, Mrs. Richard Barney, H. M. Coultrap, and E. E. DeVol.

The by-laws of the new society provide that any person may become a member of the Society upon application approved by two members and election to membership by majority vote at a meeting of the board of directors, or of the Society. The annual dues were fixed at \$1.00 per year.



Harry L. Hough, acting head and secretary of the Grundy County Historical Society, recently requested citizens to preserve letters from service men and women, as well as other war material, for use by the Illinois War Council. These may be left at the Morris Public Library or sent to Mr. Hough at Mazon.



Lieutenant Robert Steinkraus, of a marine fighter squadron, was guest speaker at the luncheon which the McLean County Historical Society held on January 6. Lieutenant Steinkraus had just returned from a year in the south Pacific.

At the annual meeting of the Society, which was held on January 19, 1944, it was announced that 172 new members had been added to the roster during the year 1943. Wayne C. Townley was re-elected president; Mrs. Lester Brown was designated custodian; and Brigadier General Gerald C. Thomas was elected an honorary member.

In the Society's museum in the McBarnes Building in Bloomington, William B. Brigham has been doing extensive rearranging, classifying, and cataloging. Work on the Civil War trophies has been virtually completed.



Dr. William E. Baringer, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, was guest speaker at the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in December, 1943. His subject was "Lincoln's Peace Problems and Ours."

The thirty-ninth anniversary of the founding of the Morgan County Historical Society was observed with a dinner meeting on November 11, 1943. Miss Amelia DeMotte read a paper on "The Old Settlers of the County of Morgan." Dr. Carl E. Black, the first and present president of the Society, was in charge of the meeting.

Miss Fidelia Abbott, secretary of the Society, has recently completed writing the history of the Morgan County Society.



Sidelights on three wars have featured recent meetings of the Peoria Historical Society. Two papers were presented at the November meeting: "An Illinois Boy in the Civil War," by Miss Hazel Wolff and "Peoria in the Revolutionary War," by A. R. Buis. At the January meeting, "Peoria in the War of 1812" was discussed by E. C. Bessler. On the latter occasion Dr. William B. Phillip also gave a paper. His subject was "The Four Forts of Peoria."



Two old registers of the Forest Hotel at Siloam Springs have been presented to the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. Buildings in the Siloam area are being razed to clear the way for development of a new state park. The hotel registers contain thousands of names, some of them of men prominent throughout the world, others of men well known in the history of Adams County. They will be placed in the building of the Historical Society in Quincy.



Dr. Carl E. Black, Jacksonville, lectured on "The Life and Work of Dr. John F. Snyder" to members of the St. Clair County Historical Society in December, 1943. Preceding his address, L. N. Nick Pertin, Jr., secretary-treasurer of the Society, discussed the life of William H. Bissell.



The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Murphysboro was observed in November, 1943, when members of the Southern Illinois Historical Society held their fall dinner meeting in that city. Lawrence A. Glenn, Murphysboro, read a paper on the founding of the town. Another paper, dealing with the history of the salt works at Equality, was presented by J. Ward Barnes, Eldorado. Special music was provided by students of the Murphysboro Township High School.

Two movies recently received from Sweden—"A Day with the King" and "Sweden's Wartime Adjustment"—were shown at a meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford on January 28. Another feature of the program was the singing of favorite Swedish songs by the entire audience led by George V. Perry, president.



At the October meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society, Mrs. Carrie B. Prouty gave a brief sketch of the public library. Her talk was followed by a review of Ernest Poole's *Giants Gone*, by Mrs. Lloyd Faxon.

The Winnetka village council has requested the Winnetka Historical Society to plan a fitting observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Winnetka as a village. Since Winnetka was incorporated in 1869, the celebration will be held this year.



No magazine of American history should fail to record the death of Ida M. Tarbell (January 6, 1944). She was not a product of the graduate schools, but her historical work made a far deeper and more lasting impression than the work of all but a very few of the academic historians of her time. Her *History of the Standard Oil Company* has stood well the test of the forty years which have elapsed since it was published, and *The Nationalizing of Business* is worthy of the place it occupies in Macmillan's distinguished series, *The History of American Life*.

Miss Tarbell, however, will probably be best known in years to come for her writings on the life of Lincoln. Published first in *McClure's Magazine*, her major work, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, was issued in book form in 1900. Pietistic in tone, it no longer satisfies the modern reader, but the student will make a mistake if he dismisses it as of no value. In the history of Lincoln literature, moreover, it was significant, for it did much to shift popular interest from Lincoln's Civil War administration to the man himself. Of Miss Tarbell's other Lincoln writings, several continue to enjoy popularity, but the book likely to last longest is her charming account of the places associated with Lincoln's life, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns*.

Characteristically, Miss Tarbell donated her own Lincoln collection to her alma mater, Allegheny College, several years ago.

Miss Tarbell was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society from 1930 until the date of her death.

CONTRIBUTORS

John T. Flanagan, a member of the faculty in the Department of English at the University of Minnesota, is the author of *James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley*, published in 1941. He was recently awarded a fellowship by the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation to write a book on the Middle West. . . . Colton Storm is Curator of Maps at the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Editor of *American Book-Prices Current*. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library.

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THE WAR RECORDS PROGRAM OF THE ILLINOIS WAR COUNCIL

BY STANLEY ERIKSON AND ELINOR ROACH

WAR data should be recorded while history is being made. The story of what the people and the government of Illinois are contributing to the winning of World War II cannot be written in full later unless plans are undertaken now. In World War I, Illinois did not begin to preserve war history material until shortly before the end of the conflict. Not until late in the summer of 1918 did the first State Council of Defense create machinery for preserving war records. As a result, the publications on Illinois' contribution to the first World War were necessarily restricted in scope.

In the present conflict, steps were taken to preserve the state's war records within a few months after Pearl Harbor. On May 9, 1942, Governor Green created the Division of War Records and Research of the Illinois War Council, then known as the State Council of Defense, to preserve not only the records of the state and local war councils, but, in so far as possible, the records of the war contribution of the entire state as well. The Division of War Records and Research, headed by Lieutenant Governor Hugh W. Cross, is preparing the ground work necessary for a comprehensive history of Illinois at war in anticipation of a popular demand for such a project.

The war records program of the Illinois War Council is similar to projects that are being undertaken by other states and the federal government. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a

number of states set up historical commissions or other state agencies to collect and preserve war records. The federal government is also conducting an extensive program under the direction of the Committee on Records of War Administration.

The Division of War Records and Research is a subcommittee of the Council's Public Education Committee. In addition to the chairman, Lieutenant Governor Cross, the Division consists of prominent historians, political scientists, librarians, and members of the General Assembly.¹

The Division of War Records and Research is co-operating with L. Hubbard Shattuck, historian for the Chicago Metropolitan Area. The Illinois War Council does not have jurisdiction over the Chicago area because that region constitutes a separate unit for civilian defense purposes. Paul M. Angle, state historian, has extended invaluable assistance to the Illinois War Council in carrying out its historical program.

The Division is undertaking a twofold program. The first part concerns the preservation of records of the state and local war councils, and the drafting therefrom of an account of the war activities of the Council. The second part of the program deals with the preservation of records for the state as a whole. Libraries and historical societies have been encouraged to preserve community war records. Steps have

¹ The members of the committee, in addition to Lieutenant Governor Cross, are: Paul M. Angle, state historian; Representative William F. Gibbs; Senator Thomas P. Gunning, now deceased; Miss Dorothy Hiatt, president of the Illinois Library Association; Dr. Karl M. Bosworth, former director of research of the Illinois Legislative Council and now Administrative Consultant, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease of Urbana, who, as Marguerite Jenison, edited the last two volumes of *Illinois in the World War*, published by the Illinois State Historical Library in 1923; L. Hubbard Shattuck, director of the Chicago Historical Society and historian for the Chicago Metropolitan Area; Clyde F. Snider, assistant professor of Political Science of the University of Illinois; Professor Tracy Strevey, acting chairman, Department of History, Northwestern University; Professor Willis G. Swartz, chairman, Department of Government, Southern Illinois Normal University; and Professor Leonard D. White of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago. The members of the Public Education Committee—Senator Arnold P. Benson, chairman, Dean Charles M. Thompson of the College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Illinois, and Representative Bernice T. Van der Vries—are members ex-officio of the Division of War Records and Research.

been taken to include schools, state departments, civic organizations, and other similar groups in the program by assisting them in the collection of data concerning their special war activities.

The basic records of the Illinois War Council are: the minutes of the monthly Council meetings, correspondence by and to staff members, monthly reports from the standing committees, releases and directives to local councils, bulletins, pamphlets, or other council publications, and news releases. All material is kept in the general file and classified under the standing committee with which it is concerned. Following is a list of these committees: Adjustment of Business to War Conditions, Agricultural Resources and Production, Auditing, Civil Protection, Conservation, Co-ordination of Independent Groups, Finance, Labor, Legal and Legislation, Local Councils of Defense, Military and Naval, Public Education, Public Health, War Bonds and Stamps, Women's Division, and Works and Housing.

Especially valuable for purposes of reference are the reports submitted monthly by the standing committees of the Council, since they present a résumé of the activities of those groups during the month. The Council has also published many instructive pamphlets and bulletins which detail some of the Council's programs, such as Civil Protection and Victory Gardens. A most important source of information is the Council's official publication, *Illinois Mobilizes*. Published monthly up to November, 1943, this magazine is now issued bi-monthly. In addition, the daily releases, "News of Illinois at War," which are sent to state newspapers, provide reports on all the latest Council developments.

As important as the actual preservation of Council records is the preparation of a general account of what has been accomplished. This is being done while the war is yet in progress, and the Council's program is still being carried on. In this way it is possible to consult staff members, committee

chairmen, and others in charge of or associated with the various programs. The ordinary records are usually limited to statements of what has been done, but do not indicate either the reason why or the manner in which important decisions were made. It is these last two factors which are fully as important as a recital of accomplishments. Such background material, which is certainly necessary to any history of the Council's war contribution, can be obtained only through personal consultation.

An early report, written in February, 1943, entitled "A Report of the Activities of the State Council of Defense," contained a summary of the activities of Council committees and administrative divisions and information about the public and private status of Council members. Through the use of a questionnaire distributed to local councils, some very pertinent facts were obtained concerning their many and diverse activities. From the replies sent in by county and municipal councils, a report was written in March, 1943, entitled "A Survey of Activities of Local Councils of Defense." An up-to-date and more comprehensive report of Council activities is now being prepared. It is intended that this survey will assist in the writing of the final account of the Council's history when the war is over. The report will describe its organization and membership, and will review its accomplishments through December 31, 1943.

The Division of War Records and Research is also keeping a card index of newspaper articles. Based on representative downstate dailies, this index summarizes accounts covering all aspects of Illinois' war activities from October 1, 1942, to the present time. It should serve, when completed at the end of the war, as an excellent source of information on community war activities.

Another activity of the Division of War Records and Research is a series of field trips which the Division's historian is making.⁶ Representative local councils, public li-

braries, and historical societies throughout the state are visited for the purpose of inspecting the records of local councils and encouraging the preservation of data on community war activities. The itinerary will include about fifty representative cities and towns. The preservation of adequate records of all major programs by local councils is especially important as it is on the local level that the civilian defense program is being carried out. Furthermore, the files at the Council headquarters do not have as complete and detailed data about the varied activities in which local councils are engaging as is desirable. The field trips will also serve to carry out the aim of the Division of War Records and Research of encouraging the preservation of historical material on the war activities of the entire state. Public libraries and historical societies are the organizations best suited for the collection of community war records. Libraries have been requested to keep scrapbooks of clippings about the participation of their communities in the war. Historical societies have been asked to preserve such material as soldiers' and sailors' letters and photographs of men and women in the service.

The field trips to date show a wide variation in the preservation of records of local councils. A number of councils have considerable data of historical value, especially scrapbooks of clippings and summary histories of major accomplishments. Too often, however, the only records available are correspondence and personnel data, even in communities where outstanding work is being done in civilian defense. When various councils are visited, it is pointed out that written records of important programs are indispensable if a final report of the Illinois War Council is to give credit to the many outstanding achievements of local councils. In general, local councils have been most co-operative. The Galesburg Council is one of several which have offered to prepare brief written histories. Outstanding is the scrapbook

of Council activities preserved by the Rockford Council. This scrapbook, which was started at the time of the Council's organization early in 1942, includes all Council programs and is so completely indexed that it serves as a general reference work for historical purposes. Mention should also be made of the brief history compiled by the Christian County Council. This covers major accomplishments of that council since its inception.

Public libraries outside the Chicago Metropolitan Area have been requested to serve as centers for collecting war records in their communities. The primary activity they have been asked to undertake for the duration of the war is a scrapbook of newspaper clippings. Where this is not practical, a card index has been recommended as a substitute. Each card, preferably three by five inches, should present in a few lines a résumé of the newspaper article under an appropriate heading. A reference to the newspaper, including date and page, enables the reader to find more details by consulting the newspaper itself. This is similar to the index kept at the state Council's headquarters.

The type of information contained in each public library's scrapbook or card index should be limited to the war activities of the local community. Not only should the direct contributions to the war effort be recorded, but also a picture of the community in wartime—its problems, attitude toward such problems, and the solution of these problems. A scrapbook will therefore include an account of such direct community participation as stories about service men, local Council activities such as war bond and salvage drives, victory gardens, and items about local firms given the Army-Navy "E" and other awards. It will also contain articles more indirectly related to the war, such as rationing, price controls, shortages of materials and manpower, etc. Still another aspect which should be included is the sociological—labor and capital disagreements, race troubles, and juvenile delinquency.

Public libraries are also urged to preserve pamphlets and other literature concerning community activities. Publicity released by the Red Cross, the U.S.O., the war fund committee, and many other civic organizations often contains valuable information. Business and manufacturing concerns occasionally issue bulletins or special announcements about their war production, such as programs published upon occasion of receiving special production awards. Such material helps round out the story of a community in wartime.

An example of what can be done by libraries is Aurora's "War Information File," a metal cabinet containing clippings from the local paper about prominent people and significant events in this war. The articles are filed by subject, such as Women and the War, Soldiers and Sailors, Civilian Defense, etc., and are ready to be assembled into a scrapbook at any time. Each file division is subdivided into local and national items, so that a record is preserved of both that particular community and of the nation at large.

Several historical societies are conducting noteworthy programs. The Southern Illinois Historical Society, with headquarters at Carbondale, is enlisting the aid of its members and friends in assembling a collection of letters and photographs of service men and women. This collection represents all parts of southern Illinois. The Society has the co-operation of the History Department of the Southern Illinois Normal University. The Edwards County Historical Society is also preserving clippings and pictures of local citizens in the service. This group is planning to expand its activities so as to include all phases of the community war effort.

If an adequate and comprehensive history of Illinois' participation in this war is to be written, it is desirable that the broad outlines of that work be delineated at this time. An outline of topics appropriate for a history will give those organizations co-operating with the war records program a

more definite idea of the plans for this history. It will also stimulate further interest in the project. A subcommittee of the Division of War Records and Research was appointed for this purpose. The members of the subcommittee are: Paul M. Angle, chairman, Tracy Strevey, L. Hubbard Shattuck, Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, and Stanley Erikson of the Council staff. It is assumed that two types of histories will be published after the war: (1) a detailed topical history in several volumes, primarily for record and reference; and (2) a narrative history in one or two volumes for the general reader. This outline covers only the topical history. The major headings of the outline are: Military Records, The Eve of War, Early Military Activities, Civilian Defense, State Departments and Agencies, War Production, War Relief and Welfare Agencies, Schools and Colleges, Civilian Activities, Civilian Life in Wartime, and Peace and Readjustments. Each of these topics is further divided into numerous sub-heads.

In 1941, just after the Council was organized, Governor Green requested all state offices, code departments, and commissions to give the Council their co-operation and assistance. In furtherance of the historical program, state agencies were asked to forward periodic summaries of any special war activities to the Division.

An outstanding example of a state agency directly concerned with the war is Governor Green's Committee on Veteran Rehabilitation which is carrying out a program for the care, training, and employment of veterans after they are discharged from the armed forces. The Departments of Agriculture and Labor are co-operating in finding employment for such veterans, and the Departments of Public Health and Public Welfare are providing needed medical, surgical, and hospital care. The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and Education of the Department of Registration and Education is also correlating its program with that of the Governor's committee.

An illustration of the diversified types of war activity of various state offices can be seen in the programs of a few specific departments. The Division of Highways of the Department of Public Works and Buildings has emphasized the construction of access roads from the general highway system to military establishments. Attention has also been given to strategic highways selected by the federal government as being important for military purposes. Under the guidance of the Office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the public schools of Illinois are instituting a war-time program of education. Young people at the elementary school level, through such programs as "The Schools at War Program" and "The Junior Citizens Service Corps," are learning what democracy means, what we are fighting to protect, and what peace after victory should be and mean. The high schools, in addition to carrying out a similar program, have become pre-induction centers for the armed forces. Pre-induction courses are offered, and the High School Victory Corps encourages the participation of students in war-time services.

A history would hardly be complete without a survey of the ways in which colleges and universities in Illinois are co-operating with the war effort. They have been requested to supply data on such subjects as the following: military or naval training programs, such as the Army A-12 and Navy V-12; wartime physical education programs; acceleration of the curriculum; special wartime courses in vocational training; staff members on leave for wartime service; and civilian morale programs.

Replies indicate that the war has become the primary concern of colleges and universities. This is best evidenced by the specialized training programs of the Army and Navy, such as the Army A-12 and Navy V-12, on the campuses of many schools.

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign offers

a diversity of military and naval training programs. The Navy conducts a school for signalmen, one for diesel engine operators, and formerly there was also one for diesel engine officers. For eight months there was a Navy school for cooks and bakers. The Navy V-12 program offers training for medical, dental, and engineering officers for the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Among the Army programs, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, which formerly gave both basic and advanced training, now carries just the basic courses. The University's Army Specialized Training Program unit, one of the largest in the country during most of 1943, had a peak enrollment of 3,383 in November of that year. The program compressed a year and a half of college work into nine months. It was divided into a basic course—pre-medical, pre-dental, and general engineering—and an advanced course, which included, besides these fields, foreign area and language studies, and civil, mechanical, electrical, and sanitary engineering. For a time, the University also offered a Women's Auxiliary Training Corps program to women. On the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois, eighty per cent of the places in the College of Medicine and fifty-five per cent of those in Dentistry are reserved for Army and Navy personnel.

Loyola University inaugurated programs for naval officers and naval aviation in its College of Arts and Sciences in 1941. The Colleges of Medicine and Dental Surgery instituted in 1943 the Navy V-12 program as well as similar units of the ASTP. The University of Chicago has been conducting the largest ASTP in the Chicago area, and the second largest in Illinois. Knox College, one of the leading smaller schools, is training the largest unit of pilots, bombardiers, and navigators in the state. This school was spared when the Army Air Forces recently eliminated over seventy colleges from its program. These four examples are illustrative of the military program at colleges and universities, both large and small, throughout the state.

Mention should also be made of such innovations as the Civil Affairs Training School unit of American Military Government at the University of Chicago. This program trains officers for allied military government and civil affairs. This University also has two other units—the Institute of Meteorology for training military and naval meteorologists, the only one of its kind in the Middle West, and the Institute of Military Studies which provides pre-induction training.

Colleges and universities have also revised their courses offered in the light of war needs. As far back as 1941, the Technological Institute of Northwestern University inaugurated a series of courses of the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training Division of the United States Office of Education, designed to make trained personnel available to war industries. Other schools have arranged similar courses for this purpose. The Liberal Arts College of Northwestern has introduced such courses as Astronomy for Aviation Cadets, The Chemistry of Explosives, The Military Use of Maps, German for Military Use, and Trigonometry for Naval Training. The purpose of such courses is obvious. Another change in the curriculums of many institutions is the inclusion of courses to help understand the war and its background. The University of Illinois, for example, in 1942 introduced courses on The Background and Problems of the War, Military Law, Defense Legislation, and the Sociological Effect of War, to mention only a few courses. The curriculums of girls' schools have also been modified. Mundelein College has introduced fourteen new victory courses to help prepare students for wartime activities. The victory courses include such subjects as Radio Communication, Map Study, Air Navigation, etc. In the 1943 fall series, Mundelein also became one of the few schools in the country offering a course on Occupational Therapy. This aims to facilitate the physical and mental readjustments of patients suffering from disease and injury.

The war has also had a marked effect on physical education. More hours of this training are frequently required as greater emphasis is being placed on general health. Loyola University, for example, has made physical education a required subject for all students in the College of Arts and Sciences. Even those excused by medical certificate from participation in strenuous exercises must attend a special course of lectures on health problems. The student health program has been broadened by the introduction of regular examinations for cardiac and tubercular conditions. Monmouth College in 1942 made physical education a five-hour-a-week subject and compulsory for all men. J. Sterling Morton Junior College at Cicero installed an outdoor obstacle course which requires additional running and climbing. These developments can be duplicated elsewhere.

The College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois and the Department of Agriculture at the Illinois State Normal University have conducted special programs to help meet the farm labor shortage. In 1943 these schools started a short intensive training course consisting largely of participating experience in doing the many tasks required on farms. Men so trained were placed on farms in central and northern Illinois. Lincoln College at Lincoln arranged for a two-weeks' recess in the fall to assist in the harvesting of crops.

The faculties of most colleges and universities have also felt the impact of the war through the great number of teachers who have either gone into active service or taken on special assignments for the government. As early as October 15, 1942, a total of 267 members of the faculty at Northwestern University had been granted leaves of absence. At the University of Illinois, the number was 723 by March, 1944. All types of special war activities have called faculty members away from the schools. Knox College, for example, has given a leave of absence to Thomas P. Carpenter, dean of

freshmen, who is serving as Director of Standards for the Navy V-12 program with headquarters in Washington. The Chairman of the English Department at Loyola University is also in Washington for work with the State Department in connection with the establishment of Chairs of American Literature in certain South American universities, and the furtherance of unity in inter-American affairs. If all the data on such activities were available it would undoubtedly show a wide variety of services now being performed by former college and university faculty members.

Another change due to the war is the speeding up of the college program. A twelve-month schedule is common today. Many schools have turned from the semester to the quarter system, making the summer session a fourth quarter.

These are only a few illustrations of the manner in which higher education in Illinois is meeting the challenge of war.

Still another phase of Illinois' war participation, that of civic organizations, has been included in the war records program. The advisory committees of the Co-ordination of Independent Groups Committee, which are made up of representatives from benevolent and fraternal societies, veterans' organizations, and service clubs are closely co-operating with the program of this division. Organizations represented on the advisory committees have been requested to obtain information from their local units concerning their war activities. The state headquarters for some of these groups have distributed questionnaires to local chapters for the purpose of collecting such data. A descriptive outline, explaining the type of information desired from the organizations, has been given to the state officers of each group to aid them and their local officers in collecting the desired information. Copies of this outline, entitled "A Guide for Assembling Historical Data," can be obtained by local chapters upon request.

Illustrative of the varied war activities being conducted by specific organizations are some of the programs sponsored

by B'nai B'rith and Kiwanis. The former has furnished many company day rooms at military and naval camps. These recreation rooms are established in co-operation with either the American Red Cross or through the special services and morale officers of the camps in question. B'nai B'rith was responsible for eighteen company day rooms at Camp Grant. Perhaps the most noteworthy achievement of this organization in supplying recreational needs for servicemen was accomplished at the Veterans Hospital, housed in the old Chicago Beach Hotel. Members donated over \$10,000 for this purpose.

The Kiwanis Clubs in Illinois, like other service clubs, have been participating actively in various phases of the war effort. A unique contribution of one Kiwanis Club was the sponsoring of a nursery school for the children of mothers working in war industry. As part of their wartime citizenship program, Kiwanis Clubs have sponsored patriotic rallies, citizenship meetings, and recreational programs for men in service.

The Division of War Records and Research is planning to broaden the scope of its program. It is especially important that business and labor groups participate in the program. To aid in the preservation of data concerning the contributions of business and industry to the war, arrangements have been made with the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce to enlist the assistance of local chambers of commerce in preserving information on war production and problems affecting business men in their communities. The success of the war records program will depend not only on making it as broad in scope as possible, but also upon the co-operation of various organizations engaged in war activities. Only in this way will adequate data for a comprehensive history be assured.

THE INHABITANTS OF CHICAGO, 1825-1831

BY ERNEST E. EAST

CHICAGO, now second city in the United States with a population of more than three and one-third millions, was a hamlet of 100 or fewer inhabitants in 1825. During the six years preceding 1831, the village, with the sparsely settled area surrounding it, was attached by law to Peoria County for purposes of county government. Nearly half of the inhabitants were French or French-Indian in 1825. Here on the shore of Lake Michigan near the outlet of the Chicago River, site of the second Fort Dearborn, the United States maintained an Indian agency. The fort was garrisoned for thirty-one months in 1828-1831 by two companies of the Fifth Infantry. Civilian inhabitants, from the time of the organization of Peoria County under act of January 13, 1825, to the erection of Cook County under act of January 15, 1831, were engaged chiefly in the Indian trade.

The names of 155 inhabitants of Chicago of that period are preserved in the records of Peoria County. Commissioners of the county defined the boundaries of Chicago precinct for election purposes, appointed and paid judges of election, appointed constables, granted ferry and tavern licenses, and levied taxes. Estates of deceased persons were administered under authority of the probate court of Peoria County; divorce actions were filed in the circuit court; taxes were collected by the sheriff; and marriages were recorded by the clerk of the county commissioners' court.

Early poll lists and other document files of the commissioners' court have disappeared from the Peoria courthouse.

They were stored in the dome until a janitor found a good market for paper some time after 1900. However, Chicago voters' lists of 1826-1830 were obtained by John Wentworth who mentioned them in lectures delivered in 1875 and 1876, which were published in the *Fergus Historical Series*. These records were examined by David McCulloch whose address to members of the Chicago Historical Society, *Early Days of Peoria and Chicago*, was also published. Book records and other document files of 1825-1831 are preserved.

Dates of birth and death in the appended list of inhabitants were obtained mostly from published works or family data. Tazewell County and its attached territory embraced areas on the left banks of the Kankakee and Illinois rivers for a limited period in and after 1827, and a few records relating to inhabitants of Chicagoland are found in the courthouse at Pekin.

Parentheses are used to enclose variant spellings of names which appear in more than one form, the preferred form being printed first.

Brackets indicate the corrected or probable spelling of proper names misspelled in the record.

A key to symbols used to indicate sources follows:

CR —Peoria County Commissioners' Court Record "A"
PR —Peoria County Probate Court Record, 1825-1835
PF —Peoria County Probate Files
MR —Peoria County Marriage Records, 1825-1836
CCR—Peoria County Circuit Court Record, 1825-1832
CCF—Peoria County Circuit Court Files

Below is the list of inhabitants of Chicago in 1825-1831:

A

ACAY, Gabriel. Voted, July 24, 1830.

AMENT, Edward. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Removed to Newark, Kendall County.

ANDERSON, Joseph. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

ARNWAISKIE, Theotis. Married, May 20, 1826, to

Daniel Bourasan [Bourassa], Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR).

AYRES, Thomas. Voted, July 24, 1830.

B

BAILEY, Jonathan N. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830. Paid \$50 for rent of house to estate of John Kinzie, Jan. 20, 1831 (PF). Postmaster. Bailey's daughter became the wife of John S. C. Hogan.

BATES, Sophiah [Sophia]. Married, Nov. 7, 1830, to Bernard H. Laurton [Laughton], the Rev. William See officiating (MR). She was a native of Vermont, and the sister of Mrs. Stephen Forbes.

BAUSKEY (BOUSKIE, BAUSKES), Joseph. Bought one lot of old kettles for 63 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827; jointly with Antoine Ouilmette gave note for \$10.39 to Wallace estate (PF). Voted, May 11, 1828. Married, Nov. 5, 1828, Deborah Watkins, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR). Voted, Aug. 2, 1830. Died of cholera, 1832.

BEAUBIEN, Jean Baptiste [He signed "John B."]. Appointed election judge, Dec. 8, 1825 (CR). Assessed on \$1,000 personal property, 1825. Appointed election judge, June 5, 1826 (CR). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Allowed \$1.00 election service, Sept. 6, 1826 (CR). Made affidavit as "clerk to the American Fur Co.," concerning his claim of \$11.25 against estate of W. H. Wallace, sworn before Justice John Kinzie, April 30, 1827; receipted for \$8.00 on account of service in taking inventory of Wallace estate "at the Laframboise settlement," May 11, 1827 (PF). Allowed \$1.00 for election service, June 5, 1827; recommended to governor for justice of peace, June term, 1827 (CR). Bondsman of A. Wolcott, admr., estate of John Kinzie, April 11, 1828; appraiser, Kinzie estate, April 22, 1828 (PR); wrote Isaac Perkins, admr., estate of W. H. Wallace, asking payment of \$11.25 claim,

May 20, 1828 (PF). Appointed judge of election, July 7, 1828; allowed \$1.00 for election service, Sept., 1828 (CR). Judge of election, voted, May 11, 1828; judge of election, Aug. 4, Aug. 20, and Nov. 3, 1828; sworn in as justice of peace, Sept. 10, 1828 (supplement, CR). John B. Beaubien before himself, Justice Beaubien, testified concerning claim of Antoine Ouilmette for \$91 against Wallace estate, Oct. 14, 1828; took affidavit of Cole Weeks on note held by admr. of Wallace estate against Antoine Ouilmette, Oct. 14, 1828 (PF). Allowed \$1.00 for election service, Dec. 1, 1828; appointed trustee of Section 16, Township 39 North, Range 14 East [school land], Dec. term, 1829 (CR). Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Bondsman of David Hunter, admr., estate of John Kinzie; appraiser of same, Dec. 17, 1830; admr., estate of Francois Laframboise, Dec. 17, 1830 (PR). Took depositions of Lovisa B. Caldwell and David McKee, witnesses for complainant, *Emily v. Archibald Caldwell*, divorce, Oct. 2, 1830 (CCF). Beaubien went to Chicago as employee of the American Fur Co. about 1819. He married (1) an Indian woman; (2) Josette Laframboise; died at Naperville, Jan. 5, 1863. Beaubien performed the following marriage ceremonies: Joseph Bauskey and Deborah Watkins, Nov. 5, 1828; Joseph Pothier and Victoire Mirandau, May 24, 1828; Samuel Watkins and Mary Ann Smith, April 15, 1830; Michael Walsh [Welch] and Elizabeth Wilmette [Ouillet], May 11, 1830; Alvah L. Gardner and Julia Staly, May 18, 1830.

BEAUBIEN, Josette. Second wife of J. B. Beaubien and daughter of Francois Laframboise. She received \$253.04 $\frac{1}{4}$ as share of Laframboise estate, July 31, 1831 (PF).

BEAUBIEN, Mark. Licensed, June 9, 1830, to keep tavern (CR). Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830. He was a younger brother of J. B. Beaubien, born at Detroit, came to Chicago 1826, and died at Kankakee, Ill., April 16, 1881.

BEAUBIEN, Medard (Madore, Medart). Son of J. B.,

born about 1809. Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Allowed \$1.00 for service as clerk and 37½ cents for stationery at election, Sept. 6, 1830 (CR). Went west with the Potawatomi.

BELLAIR, Louis. Bought one old tent for \$5.00 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, May 10, 1827; Isaac Perkins, admr., May 11, 1827, certified that Bellair had balance of \$22.31 due from Wallace estate (PF). Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-Bun*, mentions Bellaire, a Frenchman, who beat his wife.

BENEDICT, ———. Carried letter, dated Nov. 12, 1827, from Alexander Wolcott, Jr., to Probate Judge Norman Hyde at Peoria (PF).

BENEDICT, Sarah. Married, May 23, 1827, to Henley Clybourn, the Rev. Jesse Walker officiating (Tazewell Co. marriage register).

BERSIER, Jean Baptist. Signed, by his mark, at Detroit, Aug. 22, 1826, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace at Chicago until June 1, 1827, for \$80; signed also by Wm. Brewster; Isaac Perkins, admr., on April 26, 1827, certified that Bersier had balance of \$49.49 due from Wallace estate; made affidavit, April 29, 1827, before Justice John Kinzie concerning claim of Jos. Laframboise for wages against Wallace estate (PF).

BLOW, Lewis. Voted, July 24, 1830.

BOLE, William. Bought, May 12, 1827, one castor hat for \$2.94 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate (PF).

BONNET (BANNY), Augustin (Austin, Augtin). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought for 25 cents one Scotch cap at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF). Voted, July 24, 1830.

BORDINOIS (BORDENOIS, BORDINON), Augustin. Signed, by his mark, at Detroit, Aug. 3, 1826, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace at Chicago until June 1, 1827, for \$70; signed by Wallace, witnessed by Wm. Brewster; Isaac Perkins. at Chicago, May 10, 1827, certified that Bor-

dinois had balance of \$49.62 due from Wallace estate (PF).

BOURASAN [BOURASSA], Daniel. Married Theotis Arnwaiskie, May 20, 1826, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

BOURASSA, Leon. Receipted to W. H. Wallace for "one box containing sundries," witnessed by George Jurson[?]; receipted to Wallace for \$7.77 balance on claim "pour voyage du Detroit" and "par des Verses" [Parc aux Vaches?], \$13.44, less item, "Chicago, April 2, 1827, \$5.67;" assisted in taking inventory of Wallace estate, April 4-5, 1827; received \$15.50 from F. La Framboise estate, July 13, 1831 (PF). Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

BOURBONNE (BOURBONNAIS, BOURBONAIT), Francis, Sr. Indian trader on Kankakee River. He came from vicinity of Peoria Lake about 1829. His wife's first name was Cattice.

BOURBONNE, Francis, Jr. Married Josette Alscomb who divorced him at Peoria. He and his father were beneficiaries under Chicago Indian treaty of 1833.

BOURIE, John Battist. Bought one and one-fourth boxes "Segars" for 63 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF).

BOURISSA [BOURASSA?], John B. Listed as debtor to estate of W. H. Wallace for \$18.74 for six plugs tobacco, 1 keg of whiskey and other articles purchased Oct. and Nov., 1825 (PF).

BOWLES, James. Paid \$6.50 for a silver watch at sale of Francis May estate, May 12, 1828 (PF).

BRADAIN, John B. Voted, Nov. 25, 1830.

BROWN, James. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

C

CALDWELL, Archibald. Born April 30, 1806, at Pearisburg, Va. Married, 1827, in Giles Co., Va., Emily Hall, the Rev. Thomas Kirk officiating (CCF). Voted, May 11, 1828.

Purchased, May 12, 1828, one "surtout coat" and five other articles at sale of Francis May estate (PF). Licensed, Dec. term, 1829, to keep tavern (CR). Divorce defendant, June term, 1830 (CCR, CCF). [See Emily Hall Caldwell. Wentworth and others were mistaken in saying that Caldwell received \$5.50 from Peoria Co. for ironing a turnpike scraper. The record reads: "Alexander Caldwell." Alexander Caldwell and his brother, John W., were blacksmiths at Peoria.] Archibald Caldwell appears to have lived thereafter with his Indian mate in the wilds of Wisconsin.

CALDWELL, Billy (The Sauganash). Recommended to Governor by Peoria Co. commissioners, Dec. 8, 1825, for justice of the peace (CR). [It is doubtful whether he qualified.] Appraiser, May 25, 1826, estate of John Crafts (PF). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Allowed \$1.00 for service as judge of election, Sept. 6, 1826 (CR). Bought, April 27, 1827, at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, 14 ornamented waist belts and other articles (PF). Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Caldwell was the son of Capt. William Caldwell, a native of Ireland in the British service at Amherstburg and Detroit, and a Potawatomi woman. Billy Caldwell was schooled in the English language. He died on the Potawatomi reservation near Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, Sept. 27, 1841.

CALDWELL, Emily Hall. Married, 1827, in Giles Co., Va., to Archibald Caldwell, the Rev. Thomas Kirk officiating; complainant in libel for divorce, June term, 1830; court found defendant resided out of state; he was directed to answer at Oct. term; order of publication in *Western Observer* [Jacksonville, Ill.]; bill filed by Attorney A. W. Cavarly stated that complainant married defendant in fore part of 1827, and became a resident of Peoria Co. the latter part of the next year; charged husband in the spring of 1829 "took to himself an Indian woman by the name of Josette with whom he has continued to live;" complainant made affidavit, June 8, 1830, before Justice Simon Reed at Peoria that Cald-

well was in the Territory of Michigan; Lovisa B. Caldwell testified by deposition before Justice John B. Beaubien that she attended marriage of Emily Hall and A. Caldwell; David McKee testified, also by deposition, that he went with Emily Caldwell to the wigwam of a "squaw" and there saw defendant and an Indian woman and child; Beaubien certified that he took depositions at house of Samuel Miller; Thomas Morris of Tazewell Co. was summoned as a witness (CCR, CCF). Final disposition of case not recorded at Peoria. Wentworth¹ said that Emily Caldwell became the wife of Cole Weeks.

CALDWELL, Lovisa B. Witness, *Emily v. Archibald Caldwell*, divorce, Oct. 2, 1830 (CCF). Married, Nov. 1, 1830, to Willis Scott, the Rev. William See officiating (MR).

CATIE, Joseph. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

CHAPEAU, Jacque. Purchased, Dec. 14, 1826, one hat for \$4.00 of W. H. Wallace (PF); listed as debtor to Wallace estate in sum of \$2.58, Aug. 3, 1830 (PR).

CHAVELIE, Peter. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

CHEVALIER (CHAVELIER), Catherine. Married, Sept. 28, 1826, to Alexander Robinson, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). Currey said that she was the daughter of Francois and Mary Ann Chevalier.²

CHEVALIER (CHAVELLEA), John Baptiste. Bought for \$23.12½ one "bai horse paid by John Kinzie, Senr.," at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF).

CLARK, John Kinzie. Born; June, 1792, near Fort Wayne, the son of Elizabeth McKenzie and a Scotch trader, Alexander Clark. Assessed on \$250 personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826; allowed, Sept. 6, 1826, \$16 for service as election clerk and returning poll list to Peoria (CR).

¹ John Wentworth (1815-1888) came to Chicago in 1836 and was acquainted with many of the persons named in the foregoing. Two historical lectures by him were published by the Fergus Printing Company in Chicago in 1876. The first was entitled, *Early Chicago: A Lecture Delivered before the Sunday Lecture Society . . . April 11, 1875*, and the second, *Early Chicago: A Lecture Delivered before the Sunday Lecture Society . . . May 7, 1876*. Other citations to Wentworth in this study are to these published lectures.

² J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), 122.

Bought two bags of vermilion for 50 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF). Appointed constable, June term, 1827 (CR). Married, July 22, 1829, Permelia Scott, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (MR). Defendant, Oct. 12, 1829, *Perkins v. Hall et al.* (CCF). [See D. Hall, Jr.]. Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830. Clark married, first, Madaline Mirandau by whom he had one or more children.

CLERMONT (CLAIRMORE), Jerry. Assessed on \$100 personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. He was employed by American Fur Co. for trade on Iroquois River, 1821.

CLYBOURN (CLAYBOURN, CLAIBOURNE), Archibald. Son of Jonas and Elizabeth McKenzie Clark Clybourn. Appointed constable, Sept. 6, 1825; reappointed, June 2, 1826 (CR). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Allowed, Sept. 6, 1826, \$1.00 for service as clerk of election (CR); clerk of election, received 13 votes for justice of peace, Aug. 20, 1828, Alexander Doyle being elected with 20 votes. Allowed, Sept. 1, 1828, \$1.00 for service as clerk of election. Licensed, May 2, 1829, jointly with Samuel Miller, to keep a tavern at Chicago. Licensed, June 2, 1829, jointly with Miller, to operate ferry across Chicago River at the lower forks near Wolf Point (CR). Married, June 9, 1829, Mary Galloway, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (Tazewell Co. marriage register). Appointed, Dec. term, 1829, trustee for Section 16, Township 39 North, Range 14 East [school land] (CR). Voted, July 24, 1830, at which time he was unsuccessful candidate for justice of peace, receiving 22 votes to 33 for John S. C. Hogan; voted Nov. 25, 1830. He was born Aug. 28, 1802, in Virginia; died in Chicago, Aug. 23, 1872.

CLYBOURN, Henley (Henly). Son of Jonas and Elizabeth McKenzie Clark Clybourn. Bought 1 half-axe at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF). Witnessed, April 27, 1827, note of D. Hall and others in favor of Perkins, admr. (CCF). Married, May 23, 1827, Sarah Benedict, the

Rev. Jesse Walker officiating (Tazewell Co. marriage register). Elected constable, May 11, 1828. Clerk of election, Aug. 3, 1828. Elected constable, Aug. 20, 1828. He was born Aug. 5, 1805; died Dec. 9, 1867.

CLYBOURN, Jonas. Came from Pearisburg, Giles Co., Va. Assessed on \$625 of personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought one piece of blue calico for \$6.72 among other articles at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF). Defendant, *Perkins v. D. Hall, Jr. et al.*, Oct. 12, 1829 (CCF). Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830. Died July 24, 1842, at Westville, Ind.

COCHRON, William. Bought 168 gallons of high wines for \$67.20 and other goods at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF).

COUTRA, Louis. Assessed on \$50 of personal property, 1825.

CRAFTS, John. Bachelor trader. Conant & Mack of Detroit employed him in Chicago trade about 1817. Settled first at Hardscrabble. When the American Fur Co. acquired Conant & Mack's interests, Crafts moved to company's warehouse near Fort Dearborn. He was assessed on \$5,000 of personal property in 1825, but this doubtless was company merchandise. Crafts at Detroit, June 1, 1825, made his demand note to Alex. Wolcott, Jr., for \$500 with David Stone as guarantor. At Chicago, July 16, 1825, Crafts made his demand note to Wolcott for \$300 (PF). Died before Sept. 20, 1825 (*Detroit Gazette*). Wolcott, on April 24, 1826, made application and received from Probate Judge Norman Hyde at Peoria letters of administration upon showing Crafts died intestate (PR); date of death not stated. Personal effects of Crafts sold June 1, 1826; items listed but names of purchasers not given; proceeds of sale, \$504.01; appraisement bill estimating value of estate at \$322.25, and sale bill, filed Nov. 20, 1826; admr.'s notice printed in *Sangamo Spectator* [Springfield, Ill.], Sept. 12, 1827; certificate of Hooper Warren, pub-

lisher, filed Oct. 31, 1827; admr.'s account filed April 11, 1828, showing receipts of \$9,966.67, and disbursements of \$7,612.26, including transfer to Phineas Henderson, attorney for heirs, three notes of David Stone, and one of Shubael Conant amounting with interest to \$2,679.67; distribution of a balance of \$1,454.25 ordered (PR, PF). Crafts was born in Walpole, N. H., Oct. 3, 1789, of John and Esther Sartwell Crafts.³

D

DAVIS, John L. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830. Wentworth said that he was an Englishman and a tailor.

DEBIGIE, Simon. Voted, July 24, 1830.

DISPLATES, Basile. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

DOYLE, Alexander. Appraiser, estate of John Kinzie, April 22, 1828 (PF). Allowed, Sept. 2, 1828, \$1.00 for service as election clerk (CR); judge of election, May 11, 1828; clerk of election, Aug. 4, 1828; elected justice of peace, judge of election, Aug. 20, 1828. As justice of peace took affidavit of Antoine Wilmet [Ouilmette] concerning indebtedness of W. H. Wallace to Alexander Robinson; took also Robinson's affidavit (PF). Doyle on July 14, 1829, wrote to John Dixon, clerk at Peoria, forwarding "judgment" he entered against James Kinzie for selling liquor without a license in quantity less than one gallon, contrary to Illinois statute, to Francis Laducia (record published by Peoria *Herald Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1902).

E

ENGLE, James. Voted, July 24, 1830. James Engle of New Jersey was second lieutenant at Fort Dearborn.

F

FORBES, Stephen. Voted, elected justice of peace, Nov.

³ James M. Crafts and William F. Crafts, comp., *The Crafts Family: A Genealogical and Biographical History of the Descendants of Griffin and Alice Crafts, of Roxbury, Mass., 1630-1890* (Northampton, Mass., 1893), 359.

25, 1830. Appraiser, estate of Francis Laframboise, Dec. 17, 1830 (PF). He was born in Wilmington, Vt.; came to Chicago in 1829; taught early school; sheriff Cook Co., 1832; died in Chicago, Feb. 11, 1879.

FOSTER, A. Voted, July 24, 1830. Amos Foster of New Hampshire was brevet second lieutenant at Fort Dearborn.

FRIQUE, Peter. Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830.

FURCOS, A. M. Received \$10 from estate of W. H. Wallace, May 19, 1828 (PF).

FURHARTZ, John. Witnessed signature of Alexander Robinson to receipt for payment from estate of John Crafts, Oct. 25, 1826 (PF).

G

GALLOWAY, James. Came from Ohio, 1826, and after brief residence in Chicago settled in the present La Salle Co. Voted, July 24, 1830. Blanchard said that he died in 1864.⁴

GALLOWAY, Mary. Daughter of James. Married, June 9, 1829, to Archibald Clybourn, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (Tazewell Co. marriage register).

GARDNER, Alvah L. Married, May 18, 1830, at Chicago, Julia Staly, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR). Wentworth called him Alvin Noyes Gardner and said that he moved to Blue Island.

GAROW, James. Voted, July 24, 1830.

GLECEN, Luther. Bought 5 Indian awls and 100 needles for 21 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, May 10, 1827 (PF). Luther Gleason was a trader. Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-Bun*, located him later at Lake Puckaway.

GODFREY, Peter. Received \$54.86 from estate of W. H. Wallace, May 19, 1828 (PR). Made affidavit on above account, Feb. 15, 1828, before P.[?] Abbott, justice of the peace, County of Wayne, Mich. Ter. (PF).

⁴ Rufus Blanchard, *The Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest* (Chicago, 1880), 355.

GUNDAY (GOUDAY), Lewis (Louis). Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

H

HALL, David, Jr. Bought $6\frac{1}{4}$ dozen scalping knives and many other articles at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827; receipted for \$27.80 for services as clerk and "scribe" in administration of Wallace estate (PF). Allowed, June 5, 1827, \$1.00 for service as election clerk (CR). Isaac Perkins, admr., estate of Wallace, by Jonathan H. Pugh, attorney, brought suit, Sept. 24, 1829, for \$313.91 against Hall, James Kinzie, Jonas Clybourn, and John K. Clark on note; Hall as principal and others as guarantors gave note dated April 27, 1827, for \$1,095.38, payable in 12 months, Henley Clybourn witness; indorsements indicate that Hall made payments of \$1.20, \$700.00, and \$116.70; summons served on Jonas Clybourn and Clark; judgment entered, Oct. 12, 1829; execution Dec. 1, 1829; execution "satisfied" Jan. 13, 1830 (CCR, CCF). Hall was the half-brother of James Kinzie, son of Margaret McKenzie, first mate of John Kinzie, afterward the wife of Benjamin Hall of Giles Co., Va.

HARTZELL, T. Bought chintz shawls at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, May 10, 1827 (PF). Thomas Hartzel was a trader who operated on the Illinois and Kankakee rivers.

HAWLEY, Caroline. Married, July 22, 1829, to Willard Scott, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (MR). She probably was the daughter of Pierce Hawley who came from Vermont and settled in Fox River precinct of Peoria County.

HEACOCK, Russell E. Lawyer and carpenter. Came from Litchfield, Conn. Mrs. John H. Kinzie said that he lived at Lee's Place, or Hardscrabble, four miles up the south branch of Chicago River. Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Allowed, Sept. 6, 1830, \$1.00 for service as election judge. Licensed, Dec. 7, 1830, to keep a tavern "5 miles from Chicago" (CR). He died of cholera, 1849.

HELM, Lina T. [Linai Taliafero]. Defendant in bill for divorce, Oct. 1, 1829. [See Margaret McKillip Helm].

HELM, Margaret McKillip. Wife of Lieut. Linai Taliafero Helm. Bill for divorce filed Oct. 1, 1829, through John L. Bogardus, Peoria attorney. Complainant recited that she was married to defendant in 1810; that they had one son, Edwin, aged about seven years; that Helm deserted the complainant; that he had been guilty of "sensual intercourse, lewd behavior and adultery with other and divers females," and that he had indulged in habitual drunkenness for more than two years. Complainant's bill continued: "Your orator further states that the said Lina may have property come into his possession to a large amount as she understands and believes as well in the state of Verginia [*sic*] as New York—now in litigation—to the amount of from ten thousand to one hundred thousand dollars." Asks custody of child and alimony. Summons dated Sept. 26, 1829, directed to the sheriff of Clay County; indorsed: "The annexed writ and notice was served by me on the said Lina T. Helm by leaving a copy of the annexed writ with the said Lina T. Helm and explaining the contents to him on the 2nd day of Oct., 1829, for James L. Wickerham, Sheriff Clay County, by John Summers, Deputy." (CCF); hearing, Oct. 12, 1829, Judge Richard M. Young, presiding; decree (CCR). Fee bill amounted to \$9.05½, including summons to five witnesses who are not named (CCF). Margaret McKillip was born in 1794 near Colchester, Ont. Married, June 10, 1810, to Lieut. Linai T. Helm of the Detroit garrison; came to Fort Dearborn, 1811. Married to Dr. Lucius Abbott of Detroit, Jan., 1836; died in Detroit, Oct., 1844. Her mother, Eleanor, was married to John Kinzie. On Oct. 18, 1830, she witnessed the will of Alexander Wolcott (Liber I, p. 10, records of Mackinac Co., Mich.). She was awarded \$800 under the treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 29, 1829, "for losses sustained at the time of the capture of Fort Dearborn in 1812 by the Indians." Sum

appropriated by Congress, March 25, 1830.

HELM, [William] Edwin. Son of Linai Taliafero and Margaret Helm. Custody awarded to mother by divorce decree, Oct. 12, 1829 (CCR). Dr. Milo M. Quaife, ed., Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, The "Early Day" in the North-West*, says that he was born on Oct. 18, 1821.

HOGAN, John S. C. Elected justice of the peace, July 24, 1830, receiving 33 votes to 22 for A. Clybourn. Hogan apparently did not vote. He voted Aug. 2, 1830. He was born about 1804 in New York City, came to Chicago about 1829; married daughter of Jonathan N. Bailey, Chicago's first postmaster. Hogan was the second Chicago postmaster. He died at Boonville, Mo., Dec. 2, 1868.

HUBBARD, G[urdon] S[altonstall]. Receipted for \$2.00 for services as clerk at sale of John Crafts's estate, Oct. 19, 1826 (PF). Hubbard was a trader on branches of the Kankakee River. He was born at Windsor, Vt., Aug. 22, 1802; died at Chicago, Sept. 4, 1886.

HUNT, George. Assisted in taking inventory of W. H. Wallace estate, April 4-5, 1827 (PF).

HUNTER, David. First lieutenant at Fort Dearborn. Born, July 21, 1802, in Washington, D.C.; graduated, West Point, 1822; brevet major general, March, 1865. Hunter was president of the military commission that condemned to death and imprisonment the conspirators in the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. David McCulloch⁵ said that Hunter married Maria Indiana Kinzie, daughter of John, Sept. 18, 1829, Justice Alexander Doyle officiating. The marriage is not recorded in licenses and marriages of Peoria County. A letter of Gen. Hunter, dated May 24, 1879, reads: "I was married in Chicago, having to send a soldier one hundred and sixty miles, on foot, to Peoria for a license."⁶ He was elected constable, May 11, 1828, also elected constable,

⁵ *Early Days of Chicago and Peoria* (Chicago Hist. Soc., Proc., 1903-1905, [vol. 2, Chicago, 1904]), 99-100.

⁶ Quoted in A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), I: 99.

Aug. 20, 1828; voted July 24, 1830. Hunter witnessed the will of Alexander Wolcott, executed Oct. 18, 1830 (Liber I, p. 10, records of Mackinac Co., Mich.). Hunter succeeded Alexander Wolcott, deceased, as admr. of the estate of John Kinzie, Dec. 17, 1830. Bondsman of John B. Beaubien, admr. estate of Francois Laframboise; appraiser, Laframboise estate, Dec. 17, 1830, but did not serve (PR). Wrote from Chicago, April 2, 1831, to Norman Hyde, Peoria County judge of probate, on matters in estate of J. Kinzie (PF). Died, Feb. 2, 1886, in Washington, D.C.

J

JAMBOE, Paul. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

JENEAUX (JUNIO, JUNIER), Pierre. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Isaac Perkins, admr., at Chicago, May 10, 1827, certified that Junier had balance of \$62.75 due from W. H. Wallace estate. Justice John Kinzie testified, May 12, 1827, that Jeneaux was "hireling" of Wallace at \$20 a month from July 1, 1826, to May 5, 1827; Claude Laframboise offered supporting testimony (PF).

JEWETT, William P. Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830.

JOHNSTON, Samuel. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826, and May 11, 1828. Bought one light casimere vest at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF).

JOYAL, John. Voted, Dec. 24, 1830.

K

KELLEY, Henry. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826, and July 24, 1830. Wentworth said that he worked for Samuel Miller.

KINZIE, Eleanor Little. She married, first, Daniel McKillip; secondly, John Kinzie; died 1834.

KINZIE, Elizabeth. Daughter of John and Margaret McKenzie Kinzie, and sister of James and William. Married, Aug. 18, 1825, to Samuel Miller, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). She died in 1832.

KINZIE, Ellen Marion. Born in Chicago, Dec., 1805, of John and Eleanor Kinzie. Married, July 20, 1823, to Alexander Wolcott, Jr. Ceremony performed by John Hamlin of Fort Clark [Peoria], justice of peace of Fulton County, said to have been first marriage in Chicago authorized by civil law. Married, secondly, George C. Bates of Detroit, Mich. Mentioned in letter of D. Hunter to Norman Hyde, April 2, 1831. Died at Detroit, 1860.

KINZIE, James. Son of John and Margaret McKenzie Kinzie, and brother of Elizabeth and William. Born at Detroit, April 21, 1793. Married Leah See, daughter of William See, Methodist preacher. Trader at Chicago. First sheriff of Cook County. Removed to Racine, later to Iowa County, Wis., where he died in 1866. Appraiser's clerk, estate of John Crafts, May 25, 1826. Receipted for \$73.87 from estate of W. H. Wallace, including item of \$56.87 "To Boarding, Lodging and Drinks for himself and Mr. Joseph Ogee," May 11, 1827 (PF). Bondsman, A. Wolcott, admr., estate of John Kinzie, April 11, 1828. Appraiser, estate of Francis May, May 10, 1828 (PR). Presented bill of \$1.20 for window glass sold to W. H. Wallace, Nov. 24, 1826, sworn to before Justice Beaubien (PF). Appointed judge of election, July 7, 1828; allowed, Sept. 2, 1828, \$1.00 for service as election judge (CR); clerk of election, voted, May 11, 1828; judge of election, Aug. 4 and Aug. 20, 1828. "Judgment" against him for selling liquor in violation of law entered by Justice Alexander Doyle, July, 1829 (record printed by Peoria *Herald Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1902). Received, Oct. 10, 1829, of Isaac Perkins, admr., two notes, \$27.44 and \$23.37½, signed by Antoine Ouilmette in favor of Perkins, Kinzie to hand to Ouilmette to balance an account Ouilmette held against the estate of W. H. Wallace (PF). Defendant, *Perkins v. Hall et al.* (CCR). [See David Hall, Jr.]. Claimed \$22.18 against estate of Francis May, including item of March 19, 1828, "Amt. of expense incurred by hunting the corpse, \$1.00;" receipt for

payment, Aug. 21, 1829 (PF). Voted July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Allowed, Sept. 8, 1830, \$1.00 for service as judge of election (CR). He was awarded \$485 under treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 29, 1829, for debts owed to him by Indians. Wentworth said that he married, secondly, Virginia Hale.

KINZIE, John. Born at Quebec, Dec. 27, 1763, of John McKenzie and wife.⁷ Mrs. McKenzie's first husband was William Haliburton, who died. Kinzie married (1) Margaret McKenzie, native of Virginia and Indian captive, by whom he had three children, William, Elizabeth, and James; he married (2) Eleanor (Little) McKillip, by whom he had John Harris, Eleanor Marion, Maria Indiana, and Robert Allen Kinzie. Silversmith; trader at Detroit and Chicago; succeeded Crafts as agent of American Fur Co. at Chicago. Appointed justice of peace, Peoria Co. (*Journal*, Ill. Sen., Jan. 12, 1825); sworn in, July 28, 1825 (supplement, CR). Assessed on \$500 personal property in Peoria Co., 1825. Appointed judge of election, Dec. 8, 1825 (CR). Appraiser, estate of John Crafts, May 25, 1826 (PR). Appointed judge of election, June 5, 1826 (CR). Voted Aug. 7, 1826. As agent of American Fur Co. took judgment against John L. Bogardus at Peoria before Justice John Dixon; Bogardus appealed, Oct. 13, 1826; appeal dismissed, May term, 1827 (CCR, CCF). Bought 2,408 muskrat skins at 33½ cents each, \$806.68, at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, among other purchases, May 10, 1827; as agent of the American Fur Co., Kinzie received \$10 from the estate of Wallace "to freight of 17 packs of furs from Millewe [Milwaukee] to this place [Chicago]," May 11, 1827 (PF). Appointed judge of election, June 5, 1827 (CR). Affidavit of Kinzie's death filed by Alexander Wolcott, Jr., April 11, 1828, date of death not stated; Wolcott admr.; estate appraised at \$805.40 by J. B. Beaubien and Alexander Doyle, April 22, 1828; sale, April 28, 1828; sale proceeds,

⁷ The son shortened the name to "Kinzie." Sometimes, also, he signed as "Kenzie."

\$254.87½, certified by Robert A. Kinzie, clerk; affidavit of David Hunter, successor to Wolcott as admr., filed Dec. 17, 1830, fixed the death of Kinzie at Jan. 6, 1828; inventory filed by Hunter, May 2, 1831, cash received \$740.72; due from American Fur Co., \$2,190.12 with interest at five per cent from May 10, 1828 (PR, PF). Kinzie officiated at the following marriages: Samuel Miller and Elizabeth Kinzie, Aug. 18, 1825; Daniel Bourassa and Theotis Arnwaiskie, May 20, 1826; Alexander Robinson and Catherine Chevalier, Sept. 28, 1826; Peter Laclair and Margaret Pechquetachai, Jan. 1, 1827. Kinzie's death, as the record subsequently disclosed, occurred on Jan. 6, 1828.

KINZIE, John Harris. Son of John and Eleanor McKillip Kinzie; born at Sandwich, Upper Canada, July 7, 1803; clerk, American Fur Co.; secretary, Gov. Lewis Cass of Michigan; Winnebago Indian agent with residence at Fort Winnebago; removed to Chicago, 1834; died, June 21, 1865.

KINZIE, Juliette Augusta Magill. Wife of John H. Kinzie. Author of *Wau-Bun*, *The "Early Day" in the North-West*.

KINZIE, Maria Indiana. Daughter of John and Eleanor McKillip Kinzie. Born in Chicago, 1807; married, Sept. 18, 1829, to David Hunter. Witnessed will of Alexander Wolcott, Jr., Oct. 18, 1830.

KINZIE, Robert Allen. Son of John and Eleanor McKillip Kinzie. Born at Chicago, Feb. 8, 1810; married Gwinthlean Whistler. Appraiser's clerk, estate of John Kinzie, April 22, 1828; appraiser, estate of John Kinzie, Dec. 17, 1830 (PF). Died at Chicago, Dec. 13, 1873.

KIRCHEVAL, Goldson [Gholson]. He was sub-agent under Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, Indian agent. Mrs. John H. Kinzie said that he had a small trading establishment at Wolf Point. Appraiser, estate of John Kinzie, Dec. 17, 1830 (PR).

KNAGGS, ———. Laughton & Knaggs paid estate of

W. H. Wallace \$21.80, May 10, 1827; Laughton & Knaggs, same date, received \$6.00 from estate of Wallace in payment of one kettle, sold Oct. 1, 1826 (PF). William Knaggs, Indian agent, was present at Chicago when the treaty was made with the Indians, Aug. 29, 1821. He was the son of Ches-quah. William G. Knaggs and George B. Knaggs were beneficiaries under Chicago treaty of Sept. 26, 1833.

L

LACLAIR (LACLERC), Peter (Peresh). Married, Jan. 1, 1827, Margaret Pechequetachai, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). Voted, July 24, 1830. Pierre Le Clerc, son of Moi-quah, received a section of land on Elk-heart River under Chicago treaty of Aug. 29, 1821.

LACLAIR, T[?]. Bought 800 gun flints and 1 deer skin for \$3.00 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF). Jean B. Le Clerc, son of Moi-quah, received one-half section of land under Chicago treaty of Aug. 29, 1821.

LADUCIER, Francis. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826, and Aug. 2, 1830. Gave deposition before Justice Alexander Doyle, July 7, 1829, testifying to purchase of whiskey of James Kinzie whom Doyle found guilty of unlawful sale (record printed by Peoria *Herald Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1902). Wentworth said that Laducier died at Archibald Clybourn's house. He had no family.

LADUCIER, Jean Baptiste. Voted, July 24, 1830.

LAFORTUNE, Jean Baptiste. Signed by his mark at Chicago, June 5, 1826, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace as "Enterpreter" to May 25, 1826 [1827?]. Wallace bound himself to pay Lafortune \$130 (PF). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Isaac Perkins, admr., at Chicago, May 10, 1827, certified that Lafortune had balance of \$22.53 due from Wallace estate (PF).

LAFRAMBOISE, Alex. [Alexis]. Heir of Francois Laframboise, receiving, July 13, 1831, a one-fourth share, equal to \$253.04 $\frac{1}{4}$ (PF).

LAFRAMBOISE, Francois (Francis), Sr. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Received, Dec. 17, 1827, of W. H. Wallace estate, \$60 for services as clerk from Sept., 1826, to June, 1827. Died, April 26, 1830; affidavit of death filed, Dec. 17, 1830, by J. B. Beaubien; Beaubien appointed admr.; appraisers' bill, valuation \$464.45, dated Aug. 25, 1831, Stephen Forbes and James Kinzie, appraisers; both "qualified" before William See, justice of the peace, same date; administrator's report, April 3, 1832, indorsed, "Chicago, Cook County;" receipts, \$1,492; disbursements same. Claude, Joseph, and Alex. Laframboise and Mrs. J. B. Beaubien each received \$253.04¼ in cash and merchandise (PR, PF).

LAFRAMBOISE, Francis, Jr. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. He is not listed as heir of Francois Laframboise.

LAFRAMBOISE, Glode (Claude). Assessed on \$100 personal property, 1825. Signed by his mark at Chicago, May 1, 1826, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace as "Interpreter" for one year at \$200 (PF). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought "sundry Indian credits" at sale of Wallace estate, May 10, 1827; made claim, same date, for \$41 in wages against the estate of Wallace; testimony on behalf of Laframboise offered by Antoine Ouilmette before Justice John Kinzie; Isaac Perkins, admr., at Chicago, same date, certified that Laframboise had balance of \$119.11 due from Wallace estate; testified before Justice Beaubien on claim of Antoine Ouilmette for \$91 against the estate of Wallace. He was an heir of Francois Laframboise, and received, July 13, 1831, a one-fourth share, amounting to \$253.04¼ (PF).

LAFRAMBOISE, Joseph. Assessed on \$50 of personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought one casimere vest and other articles at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827; presented bill to Wallace estate "for my services in unloading the vessel last fall \$3," sworn to before Justice Kinzie; Isaac Perkins, admr., certified, May 10, 1827, that Laframboise had balance of \$29.35 due from Wallace estate

for "hunting 3 horses" (PF). Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830. On July 13, 1831, took a one-fourth share of Francois Laframboise estate, amounting to \$253.04 $\frac{1}{4}$ (PF). Joseph Laframboise, son of Shaw-we-no-quah, received one section of land under Chicago treaty, 1821. Went west with the Potawatomi.

LAFRAMBOISE, Madame Joseph. Received payment of \$9.36, April 9, 1827, for shirt-making and other service rendered W. H. Wallace, beginning Oct. 15, 1826, and ending Jan. 11, 1827; statement in the French language (PF).

LAMSET, Pierre. Made two purchases, May 12, 1828, at sale of Francis May estate, including one martingale (PF).

LARANT, Alexander. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

LAUGHTON (LAWTON, LAURTON), Bernard H. He and his brother, David, had a trading house on the site of Riverside. Bought 1,375 earbobs for \$116.87 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827; Laughton & Knaggs received, May 10, 1827, \$6.00 from estate of Wallace for one kettle, sold Oct. 1, 1826; Laughton & Taylor at "Farm House, Chicago," May 13, 1828, sold to Maj. Perkins flour, biscuit, corn, whiskey, and sugar at \$3.50 (PR, PF). Voted, Aug. 2, 1830. Married, Nov. 7, 1830, Sophiah [Sophia] Bates, the Rev. William See officiating (MR).

LAUGHTON (LAWTON), David. John Crafts made note for \$500 to him, Sept. 11, 1824; Crafts also made undated note to him for \$22 (PF). His wife was Waish-ke-shaw, a Potawatomi woman.

LE MAI. Mrs. John H. Kinzie said that he took possession of improvements made at Chicago by Point de Sable [See Francis May].

LEROI, Joseph. Bought one half-axe for 58 cents and one small kettle for 13 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827 (PF).

LITTLETON, Samuel. Voted, July 24, 1830.

LOZON (LAUSON), Clemon (Clama). Signed, by his

mark, at Detroit, Aug. 31, 1826, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace at Chicago until June 1, 1827, for \$75; signed by William H. Wallace, witnessed by William Brewster; Isaac Perkins, admr., certified, April 28, 1827, that Lozon had balance of \$47.75 due from Wallace estate (PF).

LOZON (LAUSON), Morice (Maurice). Signed, July [?], 1826, by his mark, at Detroit, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace at Chicago until June 1, 1827, for \$140; signed also by William H. Wallace, and by William Brewster and Franklin Brewster, witnesses. Bought, April 27, 1827, one dirk for \$3.75 at sale of Wallace estate (PF).

LUCIER, Chas. Bought, April 27, 1827, "shaving apparatus" for \$2.50 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate (PF).

M

McDOLLO [McDALE?], Alexander. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

MACK, Stephen. Wentworth said that he was the son of Major Mack of Detroit and clerk of the American Fur Co. Clerk of election, voted, May 11, 1828; voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

McKEE, David. Born, Loudon Co., Va., 1800; government blacksmith. Assessed on \$100 of personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought, April 27, 1827, at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, one grey horse for \$29.12½. On May 12, 1828, paid \$14.62½ for a frock coat, at sale of Francis May estate. Wrote Isaac Perkins, admr., Aug. 4, 1828, concerning indebtedness to Wallace estate (PF). Voted, July 24, 1830. Testified by deposition, Oct. 2, 1830, in divorce suit of *Emily v. Archibald Caldwell* (CCF). Voted, Nov. 25, 1830. Removed to Aurora.

MALAST, John Baptiste. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

MANN, John. Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. Married, Aug. 3, 1830, Archange Tramble, the Rev. William See officiating (MR).

MARANDER [MIRANDEAU], Victoire. Married, May 24, 1828, to Joseph Pothier, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR).

MARTIN, Laurant. Voted, Aug. 2, 1830.

MAY [LE MAY, LE MAI], Francis. He probably was the French trader whose house Mrs. John H. Kinzie said that John Kinzie bought. Affidavit of his death filed, May 5, 1828, by Isaac Perkins, public admr. of Peoria Co.; letters of administration to Perkins; estate appraised, May 10, 1828, at \$103.56 $\frac{1}{4}$; sale, May 12, 1828; proceeds, \$81.96 $\frac{3}{4}$; appraisal and sale bills filed, May 19, 1828; James Kinzie received payment on claim of \$22.18, including items dated March 19, 1828, "Amt. of expense incurred by hunting the corpse, \$1.00" and "2 diets previous to his death \$1.50;" William Eaharts [?] "of Indiana" furnished list of property belonging to estate, bearing signatures of Joseph Bay and William Kirk as witnesses (PR, PF). The name of Francois L'May was on the roll of a company of militia of St. Clair Co., Aug. 1, 1790.

MILLER, Samuel. Wentworth said that he was born in Virginia, kept a hotel on the north side of Chicago near the forks, and moved to Michigan City, where he died. He married, Aug. 18, 1825, Elizabeth Kinzie, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). She was the daughter of John Kinzie and Margaret McKenzie Kinzie. Miller was licensed, May 2, 1829, to operate a tavern at Chicago jointly with Archibald Clybourn; licensed, June 2, 1829, to keep a ferry across Chicago River at lower forks near Wolf Point, jointly with Clybourn. Appointed, Dec. term, 1829, trustee for Section 16, Township 39 North, Range 14 East [school land] (CR). Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830.

MINER, Horace. Voted, Nov. 25, 1830.

MULLER, Peter. Voted, Nov. 25, 1830.

MULLOCH, Jean B. A. Debtor to W. H. Wallace estate, Aug. 3, 1830, in sum of \$10.25 (PR).

MURRAY, E. Bought, April 27, 1827, bleached sheeting and other items at sale of W. H. Wallace estate (PF).

O

OGEE, Joseph. French-Indian, lived earlier at Peoria and on Rock River at a crossing and settlement later called Dixon's Ferry. Bought, May 10, 1827, one blue dress coat for \$10.50 at sale of W. H. Wallace estate. Made seven purchases, May 12, 1828, at sale of Francis May estate, including one bear skin. Account of I. Perkins, admr., contains following: "May 4, To expenses at Ogee's \$1.65; to amt. paid Ogee as Pilot and interpreter, \$5" (PF).

OUILMETTE (WILMETTE, WEMET), Antoine. Came to Chicago about 1790. His wife was Archangel, a Potawatomi, who received for herself and two children two sections of land on Lake Michigan under treaty of Prairie du Chien. As Wilmette, he was assessed on \$400 of personal property, 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826, and May 11, 1828. Signed, by his mark, Oct. 6, 1826, a receipt for payment by "Mons. Wellace [Wallace]," sum not stated; written in the French language, evidently by F. Laframboise, who signed as witness; purchased, April 27, 1827, at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, 16 halters, \$10; 1 frying pan, 88c; 3 augurs, 8 qrs., 56 $\frac{1}{4}$ c; one saddle, \$8.00; one doz. pr. blankets, \$87; and 1 augur, 4 qrs., 38c. With Joseph Bauskey gave his joint note for \$10.39 to Wallace estate; signed by his mark, May 3, 1827, claim against Wallace estate for \$70.12, including item of \$1.00 for "washing by Mrs. ouimett," and \$20 for "portage of merchandiz canoe to lik a la Cashe;" made affidavit before Justice John Kinzie to prove that Wallace was indebted to Claude Laframboise for \$41 wages; presented claim, Oct. 4, 1828, "to hire a house for one year for \$100" against Wallace estate; claim not signed but sworn to before Justice John B. Beaubien; presented claim, Oct. 14, 1828, for \$91 against Wallace estate for beef, "baken," portage of sundry goods, potatoes, and boarding one man for eight months; Claude Laframboise and J. B. Beaubien on oath before Justice J. B. Beaubien asserted that claim was proper; Ouilmette

made affidavit, Sept. 16, 1829, before Justice A. Doyle to prove that Wallace estate was indebted to Alexander Robinson, in sum of \$3.66 for 12 muskrat skins (PR, PF). As Antwine Wemet, he made affidavit, June 5, 1830, in *Archange v. Tousant Tramble*, divorce (CCF). Voted, July 24, 1830. Received \$120.51½ from Wallace estate, Aug. 3, 1830 (PF). Probably died at Chicago.

OUILMETTE (WILMETTE), Elizabeth. Daughter of Antoine. Married, May 11, 1830, to Michael Walsh [Welch], Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR).

P

PECHEQUETACHAI, Margaret. Married, Jan. 1, 1827, to Peter Laclair, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR).

PEPIN (PEPOT, PAPAN), Joseph. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826, and July 24, 1830. On Aug. 3, 1830, he was listed as debtor to estate of W. H. Wallace, \$1.50 for one black silk handkerchief, purchased Sept. 27, 1826 (PF).

PICHE, Peter. Assessed on \$100 personal property. He was a French trader living at Piche's Grove, east of the present Yorkville.

POTHIER, Joseph. Wentworth said that he was striker in McKee's blacksmith shop. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Married, May 24, 1828, Victoire Marander [Mirandean], Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR). Voted, July 24, 1830.

PROUX, J. B. Bought one nail hammer for 25 cents and 147 gun flints for 35 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, May 10, 1827 (PF).

R

ROBINSON, Alexander. A half-breed chief of a Potawatomi band, said to have been the son of a Scotch trader, and called "Chee-chee-been-quay (the Squint-eye)." He died at his reservation on Des Plaines River at a very advanced age, April 22, 1872. Robinson was assessed on personal prop-

erty of \$200 in 1825. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Married, Sept. 28, 1826, Catherine Chevalier, Justice John Kinzie officiating (MR). Receipted, by his mark, Oct. 25, 1826, for payment of note made by John Crafts, Chicago, Oct. 24, 1824, in behalf of the American Fur Co., for \$700 with interest, rate not stated. Purchased, April 27, 1827, at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, 59½ yds. of plaid cotton at .18, \$10.71, among other articles (PR, PF). Allowed, June 5, 1827, by county commissioners, \$16 for services as election clerk and making return of poll list (CR). Received, Sept., 1829, from Wallace estate, \$3.66 for 12 muskrat skins delivered May 7, 1826 (PF). Licensed, June 9, 1830, to keep a tavern at Chicago (CR). Voted, July 24, 1830.

ROSE, Russell. Voted, July 24, 1830; received 21 votes for constable; received 1 vote for justice of the peace.

RUSSELL, Benjamin. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

S

SAMBLI, Arkash. See Archange Tramble.

SCARRITT, Isaac. Methodist Episcopal minister. Performed ceremony that united Archibald Clybourn and Mary Galloway, June 9, 1829 (Tazewell Co. marriage register). Officiated at a double ceremony uniting John K. Clark and Permelia Scott, and Willard Scott and Caroline Hawley, July 22, 1829 (MR).

SCOTT, Permelia. Daughter of Stephen J. Married, July 22, 1829, to John Kinzie Clark, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (MR).

SCOTT, Stephen J. (Quaife, ed., *Wau-Bun, The "Early Day" in the North-West*, by Mrs. John Kinzie, said that he was a native of Maryland. Wentworth said that he was born in Connecticut, and came from Bennington, N. Y.). Lived at Grosse Point and later operated a tavern near the present Riverside. He purchased numerous items at sale of W. H. Wallace estate, April 27, 1827; gave bond of \$330 to Isaac Perkins, admr. of Wallace estate, May 10, 1828, to secure

payment, David McKee and James Kinzie, his sureties (PF). Appointed "constable pro tem" by Justice Alexander Doyle, July, 1829 (letter, Doyle to John Dixon, clerk at Peoria, printed by Peoria *Herald-Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1902). Voted, July 24, Aug. 2, and Nov. 25, 1830. He died in Sept., 1852.

SCOTT, Willard. Son of Stephen. Lived on site of Naperville. He was clerk of election, Aug. 20, 1828. Married, July 22, 1829, Caroline Hawley, the Rev. Isaac Scarritt officiating (MR). Voted, July 24, 1830.

SCOTT, Willis. Son of Stephen. Married, Nov. 1, 1830, Lovisa B. Caldwell, the Rev. William See officiating (MR).

SECOES (SECOR), Jean Baptiste. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Received, May 12, 1828, \$1.00 "for transporting the goods of the late William H. Wallace from hard Crabble to Chicago" (PF). Receipt appears to have been written by James Kinzie. Wentworth said that he died of cholera in 1832.

SEE, William. Methodist Episcopal minister, blacksmith and ferry owner. Licensed, June 9, 1830, to keep a ferry across the Callimink [Calumet] River (CR). Voted, Aug. 2 and Nov. 25, 1830. Received eight votes for justice of the peace, Stephen Forbes being elected with 18 votes. Received \$20.45 from the estate of Francois Laframboise, July 13, 1831. Signed, as justice of the peace, certificate of appraisers, estate of Laframboise, Aug. 31, 1831 (PF). Officiated at following marriage ceremonies: John Mann and Archange Tramble, Aug. 3, 1830; Willis Scott and Lovisa B. Caldwell, Nov. 1, 1830.

SHEDAKER, John. Voted, Nov. 25, 1830.

SMITH, Horatio G. Elected constable at special election for justice of the peace and constable, July 24, 1830, receiving 32 votes.

SMITH, Mary Ann. Married, April 15, 1830, to Samuel Watkins, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR).

SMITH, Mathias. Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830.

STALY, Julia. Married, May 18, 1830, to Alvah L. Gardner, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR).

T

TAYLOR, ———. Laughton & Taylor at "Farm House, Chicago," May 13, 1828, sold Maj. Isaac Perkins flour, biscuit, corn, whiskey, and sugar, amounting to \$3.50 (PF). Anson H. Taylor had a stock of goods at Kinzie's old house.

TAYLOR, Elias. Employed as clerk by W. H. Wallace, May, 1826. Made affidavit, May 11, 1827, before Justice John Kinzie that Kinzie settled \$60 account for Indian goods bought of Wallace (PF).

THIBEAUT, Joseph. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

THOMPSON, Enoch. Voted, Nov. 25, 1830. Lieut. Thompson was at Fort Dearborn.

TOMBIEN (TOUBIEN), Jean Baptiste. Voted, July 24, 1830.

TRAMBLE (TRAMBLI, TAMBLE), Archange (Arkash). Brought libel for divorce against Tousant Tramble, June 8, 1830, A. W. Cavarly, attorney. Married Tramble in Cahokia in 1813, and lived with him until 1827. [Cavarly spelled defendant's name three different ways.] Antwine Wemet [Antoine Ouilmette] by his mark, June 5, 1830, at Peoria, made affidavit that Tousant Tramble was in Michigan Territory; summons returned indorsed "not found" (CCF). At June term, 1830, Judge Richard Young found defendant was non-resident, ordered him to appear in Oct., and directed court's order be printed in *Western Observer* [Jacksonville, Ill.]; cause continued; on Oct. 11 it was ordered that cause be continued and order of publication renewed. "Arkash Tambli" was married to John Mann, Aug. 3, 1830, the Rev. William See officiating (MR). [Marie Tremble was a beneficiary under Chicago Indian treaty of 1833.]

TRAMBLE, Tousant. See Archange Tramble.

V

VAN EATON, David. Voted, Aug. 2 and Nov. 25, 1830.

VAN HORN, John. Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

VANSICLE, Martin. Signed by his mark at Chicago, Dec. 23, 1825, an engagement to serve W. H. Wallace one month for \$10 (PF). Voted, Aug. 7, 1826.

VAN STOW [VAN EATON?], David. Voted, July 24, 1830.

W

WALKER, Jesse. Methodist Episcopal minister. Voted, Aug. 2, 1830; allowed \$1.00 for service as election clerk, Sept., 1830; voted, Nov. 25, 1830; commissioners in 1832 allowed him \$16 for making return of 1830 election (CR). Walker was born June 9, 1766, in Rockingham Co., Va.; died near Plainfield, formerly Walker's Grove, Oct. 5, 1835.

WALLACE, William Henry. Trader. He was at Chicago as early as Dec. 23, 1825. In the autumn of 1825 and thereafter, he bought quantities of merchandise from William Brewster of Detroit, also of New York merchants. Signed engagements with Martin Vansicle, Jean B. Lafortune, Glode Laframboise, John B. Bersier, Clemon Lozon, Morice Lozon, and Augustin Bordenois. Had his post at Hardscrabble on south branch of Chicago River. Died about March 2, 1827, on which date he was last attended by Dr. Alexander Wolcott; on the same date, an inventory of the contents of his trunk "at Chicago under charge of Joseph Laframboise" showed \$539.75 in specie; appears also to have had a stock of goods at "Miliwaki;" proof of death, date not stated, filed by Isaac Perkins, public admr., April 9, 1827; appraisal bill, showing \$3,800.48, filed April 27; Alexander Wolcott, James Kinzie, and J. B. Beaubien, appraisers, D. Hall, Jr., clerk; inventory of "sundry goods" taken May 9, 1827, by same appraisers, probably Milwaukee merchandise, \$1,104.16; proceeds of sale, April 27, 1827, \$3,200.30; sale, May 10, 1827 [Milwaukee goods], \$1,333.94; Perkins, May 12, 1828, paid Brewster \$3,084.18; admr.'s account, May 19, showed receipts of \$5,304.66½ and expenditures of \$4,124.12¼; distribution of \$1,040.35¼ ordered by probate court, Aug. 3,

1830, two-fifths to Sarah Kennedy Wallace, mother, and one-fifth each to Mary Hamilton Wallace Humphrey, sister, and John Kennedy and Hugh McAdam Wallace, brothers (PR, PF). Wallace was born on Feb. 9, 1790, at Montreal, Quebec, of William and Sarah Kennedy Wallace, lately residents of Schenectady, N.Y. The trader was with Astor's Columbia River expedition and entered the service of the Southwest Fur Co. about 1819.

WALSH [WELCH], Michael. Married, May 11, 1830, Elizabeth Wilmette [Ouilmette,] Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR). Voted, July 24 and Aug. 2, 1830.

WATKINS, Deborah. Filed libel for divorce, May 18, 1827, against Morrison Watkins through Attorney Jonathan Pugh, charging "repeated and brutal cruelty and drunkenness;" complaint says that she was married to Watkins in May, 1821, place not stated; summons returned "not found;" May term, 1828, Judge Samuel D. Lockwood granted complainant leave to amend her bill; October term, on motion of complainant, cause was dismissed (CCR). Deborah Watkins was married to Joseph Bauskey, Nov. 5, 1828, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR). Wentworth said that she was the daughter of Stephen J. Scott. It is uncertain whether Morrison Watkins lived in Chicago.

WATKINS, Samuel. Married, April 15, 1830, Mary Ann Smith, Justice John B. Beaubien officiating (MR).

WEEKS, Cole. Voted, Aug. 7, 1826. Bought "1 black silk vest, old" for 25 cents at sale of W. H. Wallace estate; Isaac Perkins, admr., certified that Weeks had balance of \$52.26 due from Wallace estate; testified before Justice Beaubien that a claim held by the admr. against Antoine Wilmette [Ouilmette] was paid by Wilmette to Wallace in presence of Weeks (PF). Wentworth said that he married the divorced wife of Caldwell, evidently meaning Emily Hall Caldwell, that he was a discharged soldier and worked for John Kinzie. Mentioned in *Wau-Bun* as "Mr. Weeks," an employee at Laughton's.

WELLMAKER, John. Voted, July 24 and Nov. 25, 1830.

WENTWORTH, George P. Voted, July 24, 1830.

WILMETTE, Antoine. See Antoine Ouilmette.

WOLCOTT, Alexander, Jr. Physician and U.S. Indian agent at Chicago. Assessed on \$572 personal property, 1825. Appointed judge of election, Dec. 8, 1825, June 5, 1826, June 5, 1827, and July 7, 1828, receiving \$1.00 compensation for each day's service (CR). Appointed admr. estate of John Crafts, April 24, 1826; visited Peoria, May, 1826, June, 1827, April, 1828; Mackinac, June, 1826, and Detroit and New York, July, Aug., Sept., 1826, in settlement of Crafts estate; received, April 10, 1827, from Franklin Brewster \$97 for medicine and attendance upon W. H. Wallace and for boarding men five weeks; received, May 11, 1827, \$8.00 for appraising property of Wallace, including three days at the Laframboise settlement; bought bread trough and other articles at sale of Wallace estate, April 27, 1827. Bid in for \$254.87½ all property offered at sale of John Kinzie estate, April 28, 1828 (PR, PF). Judge of election, voted, May 11, 1828; judge of election, Aug. 4 and Nov. 3, 1828. Sworn in as justice of the peace, Sept. 10, 1828 (supplement, CR). Witnessed signature of James Kinzie who received for Alexander Robinson \$3.66 from W. H. Wallace estate, Sept. 25, 1829 (PF). Voted, July 24, 1830. Will executed Oct. 18, 1830; equal shares to Ellen, wife, and Mary Ann, daughter; witnessed by Margt. Helm, David Hunter, and Marie Hunter; recorded July 2, 1831, at St. Ignace, Mich. (Liber I. p, 10, records of Mackinac Co., Mich.).

WOLCOTT, Mary Ann. Daughter of Alexander and Eleanor Wolcott. Shared jointly with mother in father's will.

WYCOFF, Peter. Voted, July 24 and Nov. 30, 1830. Wentworth said that he was a discharged soldier and worked for A. Clybourn.

NOTE

Sixty-nine men on Oct. 20, 1828, petitioned the Illinois General Assembly to set off a new county from Peoria to be named Michigan County. Proposed boundaries embraced all territory in Illinois north of the Kankakee River and east of the Fox River. It appears that the legislature did not act on the petition. Among the signers were forty-three men named in the foregoing list of inhabitants. Other Chicago names on the petition were Oliver Mett, George Furkee, Bazil Displat, Francis Lavaye, John Clyburn, Thomas Clyburn, Charles Shelifore, B. Tousille, Samuel G. Gulpin, Joseph Furhka, Gabriel Abe, Nicholas Grence, Abraham Martin, Paul Primo, Henry Buche, Joseph W. Pierre, Joseph Babby, and John Willsiver. Eight other men, including Probate Judge N. J. Hyde and County Commissioners George Sharp and Isaac Egman of Peoria County, signed the petition.

THEODOR ERASMUS HILGARD, AMBASSADOR OF AMERICANISM

BY HELMUT HIRSCH

THE United States is and will remain the first country of the earth, because only here everything rests on natural, unartificial foundations,"¹ declared Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, the founder of West Belleville, Illinois.

In his interesting study, "The 'Latin Peasants' of Belleville, Illinois,"² Oswald Garrison Villard draws a fine sketch of his relative, Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, who, because of his appreciation of and adaptability to American civilization, was one of the most remarkable figures among the early Belleville gentlemen-farmers known as the "Latin Peasants." It is the purpose of this article to present a study of Hilgard, based on his rather scattered writings as well as on his correspondence with a Palatinate friend, the industrialist Philipp Heinrich von Kraemer.

Theodor Erasmus Hilgard was born on July 7, 1790, at Marnheim am Donnersberg, a community then ruled by the dynasty of Nassau-Weilburg (Rhenish Palatinate). He was the fifth child of the Protestant pastor Jakob and Maria Dorothea Engelmann-Hilgard. Since his parents were persecuted as friends of the French Revolution, Hilgard spent a part of his childhood with his grandparents at Bacharach on the Rhine. He also helped his uncle, Peter Engelmann, as a clerk at Simmern for several years. From 1804 to 1806, Hilgard studied

¹ Wolfgang Kraemer, ed., *Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Freund Philipp Heinrich v. Kraemer 1835-1865, ein Beitrag zur Biographie Hilgards sowie zur Geschichte der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Saarland-Rheinpfalz und Nordamerika* (Saarbrücken, 1935), 137.

² *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (March, 1942), 7-20.

at the Latin School of Grünstadt (Rhenish Palatinate). He left this school as a model pupil to take up various studies at the French Imperial Lyceum at Metz. For some time—it was the age of Napoleon—he intended to become an artillery officer, but being nearsighted, he gave that up and began the study of law at Heidelberg in 1807. The next year saw him at the Koblenz School for French Law. From 1808 to 1809 he studied and worked in Göttingen where his Uncle Peter was holding the post of Imperial Director of the Domains.

It was during his stay at Göttingen that young Hilgard, a poet since adolescence, submitted one of his poems to Goethe for judgment. What were his chances of becoming a successful poet? Goethe replied that he wanted to see all the young man's manuscripts and, on receiving them, the master expressed a rather favorable opinion of Hilgard's work. Nevertheless, he tore up Goethe's letters and burned the verses. In his later years, however, Hilgard returned to his muse.

In 1810 he went as a student to Paris. In the following year he took his final examination at Koblenz, acquiring the title of *Licencié en droit*. His dissertation was written in French.³ When he was no more than twenty-one years old, he established himself as a lawyer at Trier, where he stayed until 1815. In 1815-1816 he lived at Kaiserslautern, moving from there to Zweibrücken (Rhenish Palatinate) in 1816. In that year he married Gretchen Pauli, the daughter of a clergyman, who bore him five daughters and four sons. Three of these sons made important contributions to American life: Julius Erasmus Hilgard was appointed head of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey; William Hilgard became a distinguished physician in St. Louis; and Eugene Woldemar Hilgard has been called "the father of modern California agriculture."

In 1821 Theodor Erasmus Hilgard became secretary of

³ *Bibliothèque du bureau*, Vol. V, Nos. 2-3.

the Palatinate Parliament. Three years later he was offered a professorship which he declined. In 1826 he entered the Court of Appeals (Supreme Court) as a justice and thus became, despite his youth, a high official.

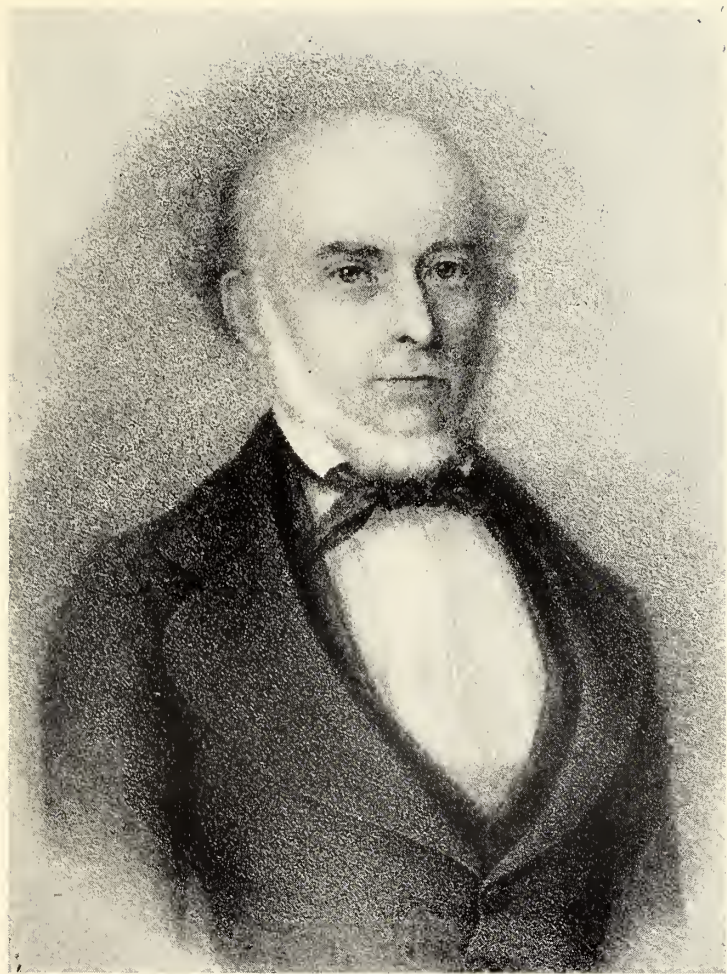
At the height of his successful career Hilgard made the surprising decision to leave his country. Republican, adversary of feudalism, militarism, and bureaucracy, he wanted to live in a free world. Departing for the United States in the fall of 1835, he arrived at Belleville, Illinois, on February 23, 1836, where he bought a farm that was the nucleus of West Belleville.⁴ On April 19, 1841, he became an American citizen. He never gave up this citizenship though he returned to Germany. He crossed the Atlantic eight times. His first trip back to his homeland was made in 1850 and lasted four and a half months; the second visit lasted from August, 1851, to August, 1852; the third was undertaken in September, 1854. On this journey the sixty-four-year-old man, who had been a widower for the past twelve years, was accompanied by his twenty-five-year-old bride, Marie Theveny, who was also his niece. By this wife, Hilgard had three more children. He settled at Heidelberg, but in May, 1864, again went back to America. Returning to Heidelberg in August, 1865, he stayed there until his death, which occurred on January 29, 1873.⁵

We have until this day only an incomplete record of Hilgard's pregnant literary activity. No research seems to have been done on his contributions to the American press. Before his emigration he edited a legal periodical, the *Annalen der Rechtspflege in Rheinbayern*,⁶ proving thus, as Kraemer says,

⁴ See Helmut Hirsch, "Early days in West Belleville, Illinois," *The American-German Review*, Vol. IX, No. 5 (June, 1943), 11-13.

⁵ This biographical sketch is mainly based on Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, *Meine Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1860). Copies of that rare book are in the Library of Congress, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation Library, and the Belleville Public Library. See also Heinrich Hilgard-Villard, *Jugend-Erinnerungen 1835-1853* (New York, 1902), Chap. I; Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati, 1880), 255-59, 427; H. A. Rattermann, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Biographikon und Dichteralbum* (Cincinnati, 1911), III: 472-86; *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX: 23-24.

⁶ Published in Zweibrücken, 1830-.



THEODOR ERASMUS HILGARD (1790-1873)



"his outstanding juridical and literary talents."⁷ In 1837, Hilgard narrated the romantic story of his emigration in an article entitled, "*Geschichte der Auswanderung einer deutschen Familie nach dem Westen der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika im Jahre 1835.*"⁸ In the years of social tension before the European revolutions of 1848 he proposed in a booklet, *Zwölf Paragraphen über Pauperismus und die Mittel, ihm zu steuern*,⁹ that the states should organize the emigration of their surplus population and supervise it until the immigrants were settled in their new country. As the chief financial basis of this plan, Hilgard proposed a law of inheritance which would provide for a national poor emigration fund. The United States offered, in his opinion, the best opportunities for the European pauper. He sent a French translation of this work to the famous poet and politician, Alphonse Lamartine, and later submitted it to Napoleon III.

When the German Revolution came, Hilgard wrote two pamphlets on constitutional problems: *Eine Stimme aus Nordamerika, zehn Paragraphen über verfassungsmässige Monarchie und Republik*¹⁰ and *Fünf Paragraphen über Deutschlands Nationaleinheit und ihr Verhältnis zur Freiheit*.¹¹ In the first he analyzed and recommended the political institutions of our United States; in the latter he demanded the creation of a United States of Germany with a republican form of government. After the collapse of the revolution he published the versified translation of a poem by Thomas Moore glorifying the fight of freedom against oppression in the form of an Oriental legend.¹² In 1855 he advocated a legal reform for Germany in a study on "*Der Kampf zwischen Schwurgerichten und ständigen Gerichten und Vorschlag zu einer Versöhnung beider Systeme.*"¹³

⁷ Kraemer, ed., *Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Kraemer*, 12.

⁸ G. Engelmann and C. Neyfeld, eds., *Das Westland, Nordamerikanische Zeitschrift für Deutschland* (Heidelberg, 1837), 113-30, 257-87.

⁹ Published in Heidelberg, 1847.

¹⁰ Second ed. published in Heidelberg, 1849, originally printed at Belleville, Ill.

¹¹ Published in Zweibrücken, 1849.

¹² *Die Feueranbeter* (Belleville, 1851).

¹³ *Archiv des Criminalrechts* (Braunschweig, 1855), 216-60, 340-67.

Until this time chiefly concerned with European troubles, Hilgard turned his attention to American affairs. In two articles, "*Urteile über Amerika und literarische Quellen derselben*," and "*Amerikanische Staatspapiere*,"¹⁴ he attacked certain anti-American writers of the time in Europe, defending the trustworthiness of American bonds. The same spirit was manifested in a number of articles written by him for the well-known *Grenzboten*.¹⁵

In 1860 appeared Hilgard's memoirs, which were not intended for public circulation. They were completed by a collection of poems, *Ovids Verwandlungen in Auswahl*,¹⁶ dedicated to his "beloved Marie" on October 18, 1859, which were likewise meant for the use of his family. The same was true of a translation of *King Lear* and an arrangement of the *Nibelungenlied*, but all these writings were, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to literature. Another work, entitled *Die hundert Tage*, which described in verse Napoleon's fate from Elba to St. Helena, was published at Stuttgart in 1868. In the same year Hilgard wrote another book in which he declared: "To abolish the death penalty would mean to break the sword of justice and to put, instead, into the hand of this serious goddess a cage."¹⁷ Next, he wrote *Frauenrechte*,¹⁸ a treatise opposing woman's right to vote; its conclusion was that woman is a flower which has fragrance only in the shadow. Two years before his death he once more advised the Germans to fight for liberty in a poem called *Die zweite deutsche Wacht*.¹⁹ It was an honorable keystone.

Among the most important productions of Hilgard's pen were his letters to Kraemer. They usually contained something favorable about the United States. Hilgard praised the

¹⁴ *Frankfurter Museum, sünddeutsche Wochenschrift* (Frankfurt, 1856), II: Nos. 40, 41, 43.

¹⁵ Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt, eds., *Die Grenzboten, Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur* (Leipzig, 1857, 1860). The editors spoiled Hilgard's contributions by censoring his pro-American utterances.

¹⁶ In a separate volume designated as "*Beigabe*."

¹⁷ *Über Beibehaltung oder Abschaffung der Todesstrafe* (Stuttgart, 1868), 53.

¹⁸ Published in Washington, D.C., 1869.

¹⁹ The copy in the Belleville Public Library bears neither date nor place of publication.

healthful climate, the plants and animals that differed so little from those of the old fatherland. The poetic soul of the new settler was especially attracted by the beauty of the American landscape. "In fact nature has done uncommonly much for this country," he wrote, "and if men continue as they started to do, it will soon be transformed into one of the most beautiful countries."²⁰ He declared that this lovely country was, above all, the "paradise of children."²¹ Here they were healthier and had more fun than in the Palatinate. Boys who had been afraid to touch an unloaded gun or to approach a horse were now riding and hunting. As they grew up, the young people, thanks to their free and natural education, were not at all timid in planning their future; they considered the whole world a field for their activity.²² No regulations or restrictions hampered the march of the younger generation. Everybody forged his own destiny, which fact encouraged everybody's eagerness to work.²³

Furthermore, Hilgard was proud of America's technological progress; he was thankful for the profitable business that he could carry on; he believed in the economic future of this country; he admired the ability of the Americans to work hard; he thought that nowhere were people so happy as in Illinois. What he loved most, however, was the social atmosphere which may be characterized as that of the frontier democracy. Its political expression as found in the American Constitution was something he never ceased to glorify. He declared:

Believe me, the American Constitution and everything connected with it stands far above that of any European state, in practice as well as in theory, and I hold it no little thing to have managed to participate and to have my children participate in this marvelous governmental institution.²⁴

²⁰ Kraemer, ed., *Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Kraemer*, 42 (Aug. 3, 1836).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 69 (Apr. 8, 1838).

²² *Ibid.*, 99 (Sept. 28, 1842).

²³ *Ibid.*, 107 (May 20, 1844).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 67 (Apr. 8, 1839).

To be sure, American behavior had for a European some strange and comical aspects.

But seen in the right light and with an impartial judgment, nearly everything is natural, efficient and much more reasonable than in Germany.²⁵

Certain American faults were mere children's diseases, so to speak. Therefore, nothing could better sum up Hilgard's attitude toward his American experience than the following passage:

I will not even overestimate the circumstance that my fortune has already doubled since my arrival in America (and this without great effort and without any risk), though the conscientious head of a family cannot be indifferent about that. But the main thing is that I have gained here in full measure the highest aim of my worldly aspirations, independence, and that my sons, though having no chance to get embroidered uniforms and medals, see a free and wide field lying open before them for any skillful intellectual or physical, scientific or industrial work. Moreover, they can at the same time remain their own lords and masters in their political thought and endeavors.²⁶

As an enthusiastic admirer of American democracy, Hilgard must be counted among the progressive men of his time. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the progress which he favored was a limited one. He disliked the proletarian class struggle, socialism, and communism, and he disapproved the radical republicanism advocated by many German workingmen and the most advanced part of the German middle class. It is, consequently, no small mistake when he is confused with his radical nephew, Friedrich Hilgard.²⁷

Friedrich was born at Wadern, Trier, in 1810, the son of Georg Friedrich and Charlotte Hilgard. After he got involved in some political affair, he was taken to Belleville, Illinois, by his uncle, Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, in 1835. In a letter written to Kraemer in 1838, the elder Hilgard reported that Fritz (Friedrich, Jr.) had left America for Ger-

²⁵ Kraemer, ed., *Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Kraemer*, 55 (June 14, 1837).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 88-89 (Nov. 16, 1840).

²⁷ Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution 1848-1849* (Berlin, 1930-1931), I: 289, 589 and II: 540 makes Theodor Erasmus and Friedrich one and the same person.

many a short time before, "to arrange some family affairs and then to come back next fall."²⁸ Fritz would probably call and bring news of the Hilgards, the letter went on, and Kraemer would find his judgment pretty sound concerning America, even though Fritz's easygoing ways had caused him to become involved in a somewhat delicate situation. As a matter of fact, Fritz had lost the greater part of his fortune and he never returned to the United States. He became an official of the Palatinate administration at Speyer. Nevertheless, despite his post and the moderate liberalism of his family, he joined in the revolution of 1848. During the uprising of May, 1849, he was civil commissioner of the provisional government and thus actually the administrator of a whole province.

Theodor Erasmus Hilgard was in Zweibrücken when after the defeat of the rebellion several hundred revolutionaries were sent before the tribunals, but he refused to accede to the "fantastic idea" (*abenteuerlichen Gedanken*)²⁹ proposed by a few people that he should take over the defense of the 333 accused persons. Fritz was sentenced *in contumaciam* by the Zweibrücken tribunal on June 29, 1850. He had fled to Weissenburg, Alsace, and from there the government of Louis Napoleon had deported the Palatinate refugees to Strasbourg, whence Fritz and many of his fellow refugees went to a freer asylum at Zurich, Switzerland. Theodor Erasmus Hilgard visited Zurich at that time, but failed to mention the exile in his letters to Kraemer. Fritz was a registrar of the Swiss North Eastern Railroad and he served as American Consul at Zurich. He married a Swiss woman and remained in Switzerland until his death in 1874. His son, Professor Karl Emil Hilgard, who wrote a remarkable book on the Panama Canal, died about five years ago, leaving no descendants.

Theodor Erasmus Hilgard's cautious character is further illustrated by the fact that he treated his grandnephew,

²⁸ Kraemer, ed., *Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Kraemer*, 68 (Apr. 8, 1838).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 155 (Nov. 4, 1850).

Henry Hilgard-Villard, the illustrious railroad builder and philanthropist, as another black sheep of his family, when the latter came to America without the permission of his father and without a penny in his pocket.³⁰ Henry Hilgard-Villard, in his turn, speaks in his memoirs³¹ in a very friendly way about his Uncle Fritz, emphasizing his kindness and naïveté. Yet there is reason to believe that Friedrich was neither a bad nor a weak man, but one of the rare real revolutionaries in one of the rare real revolutions Germany saw. I should like, therefore, to suggest that Theodor Erasmus Hilgard be remembered not only as "Ambassador of Americanism" but also as uncle of the German revolutionary, Friedrich Hilgard.

³⁰ Kraemer, ed., *Hilgard, Briefe an seinen Kraemer*, 180.

³¹ *Lebenserinnerungen von Heinrich Hilgard-Villard* (Berlin, 1906), 67-68, 79-80, 100-101, 108-109, 135, 138-39.

HISTORICAL NOTE

CREAL SPRINGS, VILLAGE WITH A PAST*

Creal Springs, in the Ozark region of Williamson County, Illinois, is a subdued country village of 1,000 persons now. Fifty years ago its population was about the same, but far from being subdued, it was one of the gayest spots in the heart of the Midwest. At least during the summer months of June, July, and August it attracted vacationists from all the major cities within a radius of 200 or 300 miles. When September came, the picturesque little town shed its playtime character and settled austere into a "seminary town" for the approximately 100 students of the Creal Springs College and Conservatory of Music until spring weather again meant school vacations and a sparkling resort trade.

Although the vacationists were a constantly changing group, their number averaged steadily about 300 during each of those warm summer months when the elders of families from Cairo, Paducah, St. Louis, and several other Midwestern cities came to Creal Springs to drink the commercial mineral waters and to take the famous baths. These mineral waters had been discovered several years previously by Edward G. Creal, founder of the village, and their commercial value reached its greatest height from about 1893 to 1903. But it was not just the springs that caused the gaiety in this little Williamson County town. The young people of the families became steady patrons of the dance pavilion while the older people rested, took the "cures," and patronized the game rooms and the bar which were located in the resort park area for the convenience of the guests. Music for dancing was frequently provided by "bands"—sometimes only two or three pieces—from Paducah and St. Louis.

In keeping with the resort atmosphere, an entire park area was devoted to this flourishing summer business. This park, located in the center of the town, was scenically restful with large trees, soft grass, and lovely summer flowers. In the heart of the area were most of the wells, while the outskirts were bordered by the large hotels, the dancing pavilion, and the bath house. The Ozark Hotel, operated by Pete Stanley, a native of Paducah, Kentucky, was the center of the resort population. A large

*The author is indebted to Attorney Charles Murrah of Herrin, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Murrah, for the source material used in preparing this article. The "prominent southern Illinois physician" referred to in this account is the Murrahs' other son, Dr. Frank C. Murrah of Herrin.

dining hall in this three-story structure was where all the resort patrons took their meals. But over week-ends when the crowds became too large even for this huge hotel to accommodate, Stanley housed his overflow guests at the neighboring hostelrys, the Creal Springs and East Side hotels. Part of the success of Creal Springs as a resort center was due to the low rates which Stanley charged. Each of his guests paid \$2.00 a day—\$.50 for a room, and \$.50 for each of the three meals. Thus those who could not afford the more expensive resorts such as Hot Springs, Arkansas, and French Lick, Indiana, flocked to Creal Springs, where the waters were good and treatments were administered under the supervision of a resident physician.

However, Stanley made his money on the "concessions" which he also operated exclusively. The game rooms and the bar, as well as the dance pavilion, were closed to the townspeople in order better to accommodate the resort guests, and they paid substantial dividends to the shrewd owner. Of course, as Stanley prospered, so did the local citizens. The stores thrived on their sales to the summer visitors, and the livery stable was busy supplying hacks and horses for the "patients" to take drives through the lush countryside. It was only when the residents of the town, many of them staunch Baptists and Methodists, voted Creal Springs dry in 1903 that the summer trade fell off. This vote put an end to Stanley's concessions, and, as might be suspected, the number of persons who patronized the resort for the waters alone turned out to be surprisingly small. If the waters had medicinal values, they must have been unchanged—but the tempo of the village had slowed down to a boresome pace for the pleasure seekers, and Creal Springs lost its major summer industry. For several years the mineral waters were shipped out to customers, but even that business gradually diminished until nowadays a visitor to the town may see little more than the locations of the once-famous wells, while the waters themselves have run down and become unusable.

At the height of their commercial status the wells were numbered and each had its special function. Number one, for instance, was supposed to cure stomach disorders and number five had laxative values, while number three was a "beauty well." The town also had an alum well, the water from which was supposed to cure such infections as cold sores and other skin disorders for which patent medicines now enjoy great sales. Then there was a magnesium well, and one spring whose water had a definite iron taste. Whether the springs actually had medicinal values is a matter of opinion. At least one prominent southern Illinois physician who lived for years at Creal Springs remarks that only the laxative effects

were of any significance. As for the beauty well, he pertinently points out that if the customers had drunk as much water and rested as much at home as they did at Creal Springs, their complexions and general well-being would have profited just as much and they would have been just as beautiful.

Creal Springs also enjoyed manufactories in those days of the gay Nineties. A large tomato-canning factory in the northwest part of town, by the Illinois Central Railroad, bought all the tomatoes that could be produced by growers for miles around. But ironically enough, as the town plied its mineral water trade, the canning factory operators threw away as a waste product all the vitamin-rich tomato juice, preserving only the tomatoes themselves for commercial purposes. A cigar factory flourished also for several years, across the street from Ozark Park, and like the resort trade and the canning factory, the cigar business reached its peak around the turn of the century.

Two slope mines, the Burnside and the Entzminger, supplied the town with coal, while in the north end a sawmill cut lumber from the heavily timbered surrounding area, and a brick kiln provided part of the building materials for the early stores and residences. Borton Grove, in the south part of town, was a huge natural amphitheater where big patriotic celebrations were held. Many of the town's male residents were Union veterans of the Civil War, and the number of rallies and "speaking" provided continuous entertainment for the citizens who were forbidden to enjoy the Stanley-operated concessions of Ozark Park. But now Borton Grove is overgrown with brush, and the original hotels, the railway station, the factory buildings, the livery stable, and even the Edward G. Creal residence are gone, and Creal Springs centers its placid business interests along Blue Avenue, several blocks removed from the original business district. The old Ozark Hotel burned during the first world war, and was replaced by a smaller structure, the present Creal Springs Hotel.

Indeed, the only relic of Creal Springs' "good old days" is the three-story seminary building in the northeast section of the town. It, too, is vacant now, and its once-beautiful campus is overgrown with brush and weeds. Not since 1918, when an attempt to convert the building into a sanitarium failed, has the seminary structure been used.

Yet for many years this building was one of the cultural centers of southern Illinois, and from 1884 to 1916 it was Creal Springs' most reliable and certainly its most dignified "business." Students from Franklin, Saline, Jackson, Johnson, Union, and even Alexander counties, along with the young men and women of Williamson County itself, came there to pursue education and the cultural arts. The enrollment averaged close to

100 students throughout the years when the Creal Springs College and Conservatory of Music was at its height.

The seminary, under the presidency and strong leadership of Gertrude Brown Murrah, maintained a high moral standard and strict discipline. The building itself was erected in 1884 by Mrs. Murrah and her husband, H. C. Murrah, at their own expense and was operated by them with the blessings of the Baptist Church. All the fifteen members of the board were solid Baptists, many of them ministers. However, the church's influence did not extend to the financial support of the institution, and the Murrahs had to rely on their small farm to help sustain the seminary. The academy's tuition fees were always modest, and only the "missionary spirit" and educational zeal of the institution's founders kept the seminary going throughout the years. The school offered studies at both the high school and college levels, and for some time it even maintained a primary department. The Creal Springs seminary was described in 1887 as "well sustained, and has a reputation of doing good work in the cause of education."¹

Approximately thirty girls were housed in the large building, while the remaining students found residence in the nearby homes. The interior of the academy is entirely of oak and is so well-constructed that even now, after nearly twenty years of vacancy, it looks substantial and stately. The basement served as the kitchen and dining hall for all the resident students, while a large assembly hall occupied the major portion of the second floor. The third floor and the two wings of the building housed the classrooms and the living rooms of the students, while the top floor was used for storage purposes. The rooms were heated by individual stoves. There was a small and unfinished science laboratory in the building, and a library which contained a number of volumes pertaining to education and the arts. There were several pianos in the academy. "Lights out," which came regularly every night at 9:00 o'clock, meant putting out the flames in the kerosene lamps.

Chief social activity at the seminary was the regular Friday night meeting of the Erina Literary Society, whose object was stated as "the improvement of its members in the various exercises of music, debate, oration, recitation and reading: and the cultivation of those styles and graces of delivery essential to perfection in any of the above exercises." The fact that Erina meeting nights provided opportunities for a bit of romancing on the way home no doubt had a great deal to do with the society's popularity.

¹ *History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties, Illinois* (Good-speed Pub. Co., Chicago, 1887), 515.

Yes, the ghostly seminary building is now the only nostalgic reminder of the days when Creal Springs was one of the busiest little towns in "Egypt." And as the landmarks have passed, so have many of the original residents of the village, leaving their children and a few newcomers to carry on the business interests of the community. But the few oldtimers who remain still find great delight in recalling the era when their community was the summer playground of this part of the Midwest, and when the bright laughter of students took the bleakness off the winter months in the picturesque town of Creal Springs.

FRANCES NOEL CRANE

HERRIN, ILL.

FROM THE SOCIETY'S PRESIDENT

Every war has had its battle cries. "Remember the Alamo," "Remember the Maine," and "Remember Pearl Harbor" are three easily remembered. With these battle cries have come slogans to influence, encourage, and guide the nation. "Make the world safe for Democracy" reminds us of the last war. "We are fighting for Democracy" is in the press and on the platform and radio thousands of times these days.

"Democracy" means many things to many people. It is well to keep in mind that the Constitution of the United States guarantees "to every state in this union a *Republican* form of government," not a democracy.

When Benjamin Franklin was asked what kind of government was formed in the Constitutional Convention, he replied: "A *Republic* if you can keep it."

It is well to keep in mind that in a pure Democracy, a majority rules. In a pure Democracy fifty-one per cent of the people can abolish your church. In a pure Democracy fifty-one per cent of the people can close your schools. In a pure Democracy fifty-one per cent of the people can prohibit a free press, the privilege of petition or the chance to assemble freely.

In our Republic with the Constitution and with the Bill of Rights, anyone may worship as he pleases, even if one hundred thirty million other people don't like it. In our Republic with our Constitution and Bill of Rights, one man can say what he pleases (subject to the laws of slander and libel) even though every other person in the United States is opposed to what he says and writes.

Our Republic is not an unlimited government of the majority. It is a government with some absolute rights for the minority no matter how small that minority is in numbers or influence.

Many well-intentioned people join in the cry for Democracy. Many informed people want a Democracy with qualifications and then again there are those that for selfish purposes, political or otherwise, urge us to abolish the Republic and get a democratic form of government. We must keep in mind that Republicans and Democrats are not far apart in misusing the word, and we must not forget that we can have democratic people in a Republic. We are talking, however, about those that want a democratic form of government instead of a republican form of government.

Sometimes we are all too pessimistic. Too often we forget "that you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all the time."

Judge Caton in the case of *The People v. John Reynolds*, reported in the Illinois Supreme Court *Reports*, 5 Gilman, page 16, wrote:

While we may concur with that Court [Supreme Court of Delaware] in deprecating and condemning the fulsome effusions and unprincipled conduct of the demagogue, whose only merit consists in an artful ability to deceive the people and flatter the public vanity; ever persuading them that they can do no wrong; approving, defending and advocating every popular prejudice, even at the sacrifice of his own judgment, that he may acquire an influence and use their power for selfish purposes;—who is even willing to ride upon the whirlwind that hastens to destruction, for the giddy pleasure of guiding the storm, we ought not to allow such occasional abuse of the public confidence or credulity, to impel us to the other extreme, and conclude that the people are not safe repositories of any power—that they cannot judiciously exercise any discretion.

On the dark day following Lincoln's assassination, General Garfield quieted a mob in New York with these words, "God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives."

Before we desert the Republic for a Democracy, let us ask ourselves whether the leaders seeking such a change have the greatness, the sincerity, the wisdom, and the unselfishness of Washington, Franklin, Madison, and the other leaders in the early days of the Republic.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

MANNERS WHILE TRAVELING

The Gentleman Escort.—When a gentleman is to escort a lady upon a journey, he either accompanies her to the station, or meets her there, in sufficient time to attend to the checking of her baggage, the procuring of her ticket, and the securing of an eligible seat in the cars. He arranges her hand baggage, and takes a seat near her, or by her side if invited by her to do so. In the ordinary passenger coach, a lady would most likely take the latter course, for, should the car be crowded, she will be obliged to share her seat with some one, and she would undoubtedly much prefer her escort to an entire stranger.

The destination reached, the gentleman conducts his charge to the ladies' waiting-room, while he attends to her baggage, and secures whatever vehicle she may desire to convey her to the hotel or private house which she indicates. He should call upon her the next day, if he remain in the city, to inquire how she stood the journey. . . .

A lady should not make unnecessary demands upon the patience and good nature of her escort. Some people seem to continually want hand baggage taken down from the rack, a glass of water from the other end of the car, or a cup of tea from every third station on the road. Such ladies should employ a maid, or else occasionally wait on themselves; they can scarcely expect such continual service from an escort or mere acquaintance. . . .

The Lady Alone.—A lady traveling alone may accept from a fellow passenger small services, such as the raising or lowering of a window, assistance in getting on or off the train, carrying bags, claiming trunks or calling a carriage. There is very rarely found a man who will presume upon such slight grounds. If the journey be a long one, a lady need not fear to make herself agreeable to other passengers, even should they happen to be gentlemen. . . .

No lady will insist on retaining two seats when other passengers are obliged to stand. We recently saw, on a six hours trip, two women occupy four seats, by having the one in front of them turned over and filled with baggage. A gentleman, who was forced to stand, after a time asked them to vacate one of the seats, which they refused to do. Thereupon ensued a wordy war, in which the sharp speeches of the unwomanly offenders were applauded by the rougher portion of the passengers, and the real ladies

present not only metaphorically, but literally, blushed for their sex. The conductor being finally appealed to, he compelled the ill-bred passengers to make room for the gentleman who had so pluckily asserted his rights....

In the Sleeping Car.—No lady with any consideration for the rights or comforts of others will occupy the dressing-room for a half hour or more for the purpose of making an elaborate toilette. We remember not long ago having seen such a one; and we also remember the ladies who stood around that door waiting for a chance to enter. The motion of the train banged them hither and thither against the walls of the narrow passage way, and the remainder of the passengers eyed the closed door with growing indignation. Just as the train was about to stop, the female "hog" stepped forth, and the ladies, who were ready to drop with weariness and vexation, were obliged to change cars or snatch a hasty breakfast, without having had even an opportunity to wash their hands.

A lady who has traveled considerably, says she can always manage to dress her hair before leaving her berth; she also arranges her toilette as far as possible, so that in the dressing-room she has only to wash, brush teeth, or, perhaps, don fresh cuffs and collar; and this she can always manage inside of ten minutes. This lady at home is in the habit of making a careful and leisurely toilette, but where one small room is in turn to accommodate all the feminine portion of the travelers in a railway coach, she is well-bred enough to sacrifice some of her own convenience to the comfort of others. Her example is to be commended.

ROSE E. CLEVELAND, *Social Mirror*, (1888), 226-31.

THE AMERICAN HOTEL, 1860

The American hotel is invariably provided with a large entrance hall, at one end of which is the office of the establishment, where, on arrival, the traveller registers his name in a volume kept for the purpose, and open to public inspection. The ingenious contrivances in use in these offices for simplifying the business of the establishment are a study for the stranger. Convenient to the hand and eye of the clerk is the Annunciator, a clever invention, by which the bell-summons from a particular room is made know [*sic*] by the dropping of a small disk which conceals the corresponding number on the Annunciator; the exhibition of one or more numbers in this manner intimates to the clerk at what rooms attendance is required, and he issues his orders accordingly, replacing the covering disk when the bell is answered. In many hotels a series of pigeon holes are provided, glazed on the outside, and numbered, one for each room in the building. In these are deposited cards and letters left for

guests while absent, and the keys of their rooms. The clerk is thus enabled to tell at a glance, by the presence or absence of the key, if a guest is in his room when asked for; and the occupant himself, by looking through the glazed exterior, can ascertain without enquiry if letters have arrived in his absence. In the reading rooms the traveller finds newspapers from every city in the Union, and in the bar-rooms drinks of every variety, and patrons of every degree; for in these places, as well as in the entrance hall and reading room, are to be found a mixed throng of "outsiders," whom the love of a crowd, the desire for news, and a taste for elegant surroundings, bring together at all hours of the day and evening.

There are no extras in American hotels; everything being included in the regular charge but washing and drinkables. The traveller therefore may calculate to a nicety beforehand the cost of a journey, selecting his hotels according to his means—a very easy matter, as all advertise extensively, giving the charge per day. In travelling over nearly five hundred miles in the west—a journey which occupied a week, my necessary expenses did not exceed by a dollar the estimated outlay. The following extract from my memoranda will show what those expenses were, and may as well be inserted here, as serving to convey an idea of the cost of travelling to a man of moderate means in the States generally:—

		Dols.	cents.
Railroad, Chicago to Dixon.....	98 miles	3	00
Hotel, Dixon, 1½ days, at 1 dol. 50 cents per day.....		2	25
Railroad, Dixon to Freeport.....	36 miles	1	15
Hotel, Freeport, 1 day, at 1 dol. 50 cents per day.....		1	50
Railroad, Freeport to Galena.....	50 miles	1	55
Hotel, Galena, 1½ days, at 2 dols. per day..		3	00
Steamboat, Galena to Rock Island.....	81 miles	4	00
Hotel, Rock Island, 1½ days, at 1 dol. 50 cents. per day.....		2	25
Railroad, Rock Island to Chicago.....	182 miles	5	00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	447	23	70

A trifling addition for incidental expense will bring the total of the above to twenty-five dollars, or five pounds four shillings. If five dollars, or one pound, be added for superior hotel accommodation, it will give six pounds sterling, or one pound per day for seventy-four miles of travel, and hotel accommodation of the first class. The same sum might serve for a commercial traveller or other vagrant bachelor in England, content with a second class carriage, and his chop in the coffee-room of a second-rate inn; but it would scarcely meet the requirement of each mem-

ber of a comfort loving family party, or of a lady travelling alone, who must needs have a room to themselves (whether they care for it or no), and indulge in—and pay for—the numerous extras which combine to render a trip to “the lakes” or elsewhere a more costly affair than a continental tour.

WILLIAM HANCOCK, *An Emigrant's Five Years* (London, 1860), 142-46.

THE OLD TIME RELIGION

Jesse Williams and Peter Cartwright were among the earliest preachers who preached in Canton. John M. Ellis was, however, not much, if at all, behind them in paying attention to this field. There were in the vicinity a good number of Ironside Baptists, who organized a church of their faith in the Eveland neighborhood at quite an early day—probably before, certainly not later than, 1825.

James Tatum, one of their pioneer preachers, used to edify his hearers by relating his call to preach, “in the words and figures that follow, to-wit:”

“My dearly-beloved brethering-ah and sisters-ah, my blessed master-ah, has called me to dispense with the everlasting gospel-ah. For one night-ah, in a vision, in a vision of the night-ah, I dreamed-ah that I had swallowed a stiff-tongued four-horse wagon-ah, and me thought-ah, that the tongue of the wagon-ah was a stickin’ out of my mouth-ah, and the chains were a hanging down beside my chin-ah, and the chains were a rattlin’-ah, and and [*sic*] the tongue was a waggin’-ah, and my beloved brethering-ah and sisters-ah, I knowed that God had called me to preach his everlasting gospel-ah, and I’m a goin’ for to preach it-ah, until the day that I die-ah.”

The same preacher exemplified the doctrine of “once in grace, always in grace,” in this wise:

“My dear brethering and sisters-ah, when a soul is once converted-ah, it allers stays converted-ah. It’s jist like me the other day-ah, I was a goin’ to Canton-ah, and as I rid past old Mr. Eggers-ah, old sister Eggers run out-ah, and she hollered, ‘Brother Tatum-ah, won’t you take a coon-skin to town-ah, and sell it and buy me a plug of smokin’ terbacker-ah?’ And I said sartin, sister Eggers-ah; and so I took the coon-skin-ah, and when I got to town I tried to sell it to Joel Wright-ah, but he said coon-skins wer n’t [*sic*] of much account now-ah, and he would n’t buy it-ah, so I took it to Mr. Stillman-ah, and he would n’t buy neither-ah, then I tried to give it to Mr. Stillman-ah, and he would n’t have it-ah, and then I took it back to Joel Wright-ah, and I tried to give it to him-ah, but he

wouldn't have it neither-ah. So I bought sister Eggers a plug of terbacker-ah, and I tied the coon-skin to my saddle-ah, a thinkin' for to lose it-ah, and I started for to go back-ah, and when I got most back to sister Eggers-ah, I heard some body behind me a hollerin', 'Mr. Tatum-ah, Mr. Tatum-ah,' and my brethering and sisters-ah, when I looked back-ah, I seed a man a comin'-ah, with that very coon-skin in his hand-ah, a hollerin' 'Mr. Tatum-ah, you've lost your coon-skin-ah.' And so, my brethering and sisters-ah, it is with religion; you can't sell it-ah, you can't give it away-ah, and you can't lose it."

At a Methodist meeting in these early days, Daniel Ulmer, who had been a very profane man, was at the "mourners' bench," and was surrounded by the older members, who were praying for him with primitive zeal and exhorting him to give himself up to the influence of religion. Daniel at length arose to his feet and began clapping his hands and shouting at the top of his voice, "Glory to God! I've got religion, I've got religion, and I don't care a G-d d--n who knows it." He was perfectly serious in his exclamation. The force of habit only was answerable for his religious profanity.

ALONZO M. SWAN, *Canton: Its Pioneers and History* (1871), 25-26.

MR. ROBERT LINCOLN

In the course of the day [in Chicago] we had called to see young Mr. Robert Lincoln. We found him up a long flight of stairs, writing at his desk. He is an attorney. There was nothing in his manner to indicate that his father had occupied a higher position than any other citizen. He cheerfully accepted our invitation to breakfast with us at our hotel next morning. He was with us at an early hour on Tuesday; for his business had to be attended to. He is about five-and-twenty; modest, quiet, and utterly unassuming. No one seemed to regard him as possessing any rank, by reason of his father having been President, nor did he so regard himself. He laughed heartily at a joke of ours about his being called "His Royal Highness the Prince Robert." He said that what chiefly astonished and grieved his father during the war, was that the organs of English opinion which had ridiculed or censured Americans for slavery, turned round and condemned them when actual steps were taken for putting it down. This had greatly tended to destroy in America all respect for English opinion.

He said he always knew he must get his own living. He had been from the first brought up for the law, and he had not allowed his studies to be interrupted a single day by his father being President. The only pause had been when, like other young men, he had served in the army,

volunteering as a private.¹ Speaking of the memorials sent from England on the death of his father, he said the family preserved them all; and that there were more from Great Britain than from his own country. I asked if it was true that the Queen had written to his mother. He replied, "Yes, a long letter of four pages. We have been often urged to publish it, but we have decided not to do so, as it was evidently written with no idea of publicity, though it would be greatly to the honour of the Queen if it were made known; but it was so evidently the unrestrained outpouring of sympathy from a full heart, that we felt it would be a violation of propriety to publish it, at least during the life of the writer." Speaking of the Far West plains, he said they were worth seeing, only we might get scalped; and he told us of a man who had been attacked by the Indians, shammed dead, was scalped, watched the Indian, saw him accidentally drop the scalp, and ride off. He then crept to the place, recovered his personal property, replaced it, and recovered. Mr. Lincoln hoped to visit England some day, and we promised him a hearty reception.

NEWMAN HALL, *From Liverpool to St. Louis* (London, 1870), 157-59.

¹ Robert Lincoln never served as a private. He entered the army as a captain on General Grant's staff, on February 11, 1865, and resigned on June 10, 1865.

NEWS AND COMMENT

On March 24 the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library accepted one of the great American historical documents—an autograph copy of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The donor was Mr. Vernon L. Nickell, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, acting on behalf of the school children of the State; the Trustees received the document on behalf of the people of Illinois. It will remain on display permanently in the State Historical Library.

Abraham Lincoln is known to have written five copies of his famous address. The first draft was written in Washington, and not, as millions believe, on the train to Gettysburg. The second copy was made at Gettysburg, probably on the evening of November 18, 1863, the day before the dedication. Sometime later he wrote the third copy in response to a request from Edward Everett, who had promised his own manuscript—it will be remembered that he was the principal speaker of the occasion—to the ladies' committee of the New York State Sanitary Commission, and wanted Lincoln's manuscript as a companion piece. Two additional copies were written at later dates.

The manuscript which became the possession of the people of Illinois on March 24 is the third copy, and with it is the manuscript of Everett's address. Both documents were offered to the State last fall for \$60,000, which was considered to be a fair price. State funds, however, were not available. It was then that the school children of the state, parochial as well as public, undertook to raise the necessary sum by means of five-cent contributions. When they fell somewhat short of the goal, Mr. Marshall Field made up the deficiency.

The actual presentation was made by seven-year-old Nancy Carol Miller, of Hartsburg, Illinois. Other participants were Fred Kremer, Lane Technical High School of Chicago; Geraldine Archambault, representing Mundelein Cathedral High of Chicago; Kenneth Jones, Vandalia High School; Vernon L. Nickell; and Oliver R. Barrett, chairman of the Library's Board of Trustees. The ceremonies were broadcast over Radio Station WLS, Chicago.

In the fall the manuscript will be placed on display in Chicago in recognition of the important part played by the Chicago schools in its acquisition. Then it will be returned to Springfield, where it will remain permanently.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its thirty-seventh annual meeting in St. Louis on April 20, 21, and 22. Among papers read were the following by representatives of Illinois institutions: "The Mississippi Plan of 1875," by David H. Donald, University of Illinois; "The City as a Safety Valve for Rural Discontent," Fred A. Shannon, University of Illinois; "Some Historic Aspects of American Land Tenure," Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association; "The Church and Farmer and Labor Agitation, 1880-1896," Warren Griffiths, Shurtleff College; "America on the Eve of War, 1939-1941," Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; "Values to be Derived from the Report on the Teaching of American History in the Schools," Hilda M. Waters, Western Illinois State Teachers' College; "Regional and Local History as Material in a General Course in American History," Paul M. Angle, Illinois State Historical Library.

At the annual business meeting, Dr. William C. Binkley, professor of history, Vanderbilt University, was elected president for the year 1944-1945.

A year ago there was much discussion on the part of members of the Association's executive committee as to the advisability of continuing meetings in these abnormal times. Those who favored continuing normal activities were in the majority, and the annual meeting was held in April, 1943, at Cedar Rapids, as had been planned. The meeting was smaller than usual, but successful nevertheless. This year a much larger attendance emphasized the wisdom of last year's decision.



The Illinois State Historical Society has also decided that its annual meeting is an indispensable part of its program, and that its program is too important to be interrupted by war unless conditions become much more critical than at present. Therefore it will meet this year as usual—in Bloomington, early in October. Members will be informed of the date and the program in ample time.



The Newberry Library, Chicago, is offering a limited number of fellowships to writers interested in describing or interpreting characteristic phases of Midwestern life. Appointments will be made by a committee consisting of Alfred E. Hamill and Hermon Dunlap Smith of the library's board of trustees; Joseph A. Brandt, director of the University of Chicago Press; Lloyd Lewis, managing editor of the *Chicago Daily News*;

and Stanley Pargellis, librarian of the Newberry Library. Applications should be directed to the library.

The fellowships have been made possible by the Rockefeller Foundation.



The *State Guides* started it. Then came the *Rivers of America Series* and the *Great Lakes Series*. Now it's the *Cities of America Biographies*. Of this last is *Chicago: Crossroads of American Enterprise*, by Dorsha B. Hayes.¹

One suspects that the book was tailored to an editorial formula which went something like this: give us breadth, not depth; play up personalities; make it readable; and don't let it run much over 100,000 words. That, at any rate, is what the author has done.

Chicago's history, from the expedition of Joliet and Marquette in 1673 to the wartime year of 1944, is the subject. The treatment is hardly profound, but the narrative moves along at a pace which will attract many readers. The sharpest criticism that can be advanced—aside from a good many sins against strict accuracy—is the author's overstraining for effect. Too many pages seem to have been written for bright high school students instead of for mature readers. But maybe that was part of the formula too.

Read the book. But if you really want to know Chicago's past, don't stop until you have also read Lewis' and Smith's *Chicago: The History of Its Reputation*, Edgar Lee Masters' *The Tale of Chicago*, and the two volumes of Bessie Louise Pierce's scholarly *A History of Chicago* (as yet unfinished).



Alice Felt Tyler, native of Galesburg, graduate of Knox College, and member of the history faculty of the University of Minnesota, has made a real contribution in *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860*.² The subject matter of this fairly long book—evangelical religion, cults and utopias, temperance, education, women's rights, the abolition of slavery—is hardly new; novelty comes from the grouping of these diverse movements as manifestations of the American's confidence that he could make the world a better place for himself and for his children; and from the attribution of more importance to them than recent writers have been willing to concede. "For too long we have paid amused attention to the fads and fancies of the early nineteenth century. . . . The

¹ Julian Messner. \$2.75.

² University of Minnesota Press. \$5.00.

religious movements and the adventures in reform of the early years of the republic were the truly significant activities of the men and women of the age, and they contributed much to the way of life of twentieth-century America."

Perhaps. Mrs. Tyler's mastery of her subject is impressive, her thesis well documented. The Editor, however, is not convinced that the spiritualist movement was in some respects the "'coronal glory' of the optimism and faith in the individual that characterized American thought." The Transcendentalist, the Millerite, and the Spiritualist may, as Mrs. Tyler asserts, have typified the eagerness with which "the new world grasped at things of the spirit," but they remain ridiculous and often funny figures from a period in which absurdity seems to have banished common sense more often than not.

Probably that point of view comes from the fact that one was young in the days of Mencken's and Nathan's *American Mercury*. The reader should judge for himself. Mrs. Tyler gives him plenty of material on which to base an opinion.



The vignette, an engraver will tell you, is a book illustration without a definite border, or a portrait showing only the bust against a shaded background. In a sense a vignette is unfinished—not because the artist or engraver was incapable of working out his design to the last detail, but because, having developed its essential features, he preferred that they should not be overshadowed by anything of secondary interest.

Wisely, Daniel A. Roberts appropriated this term from the graphic arts for the title of a book of verse about Illinois and some of its most famous historical characters.³ In each of thirty-eight short poems he suggests the essential achievement or characteristic of a noted Illinoisan, or celebrates the fundamental quality of some impersonal phase of the state's past. A paragraph of prose provides the factual setting; a drawing, also the author's work, gives added point to the printed word.

Illinois Vignettes is interesting in conception, and more than interesting in performance. One's respect for the author-artist is increased by the fact that for him art and poetry and history are avocational interests, necessarily subordinate to the full-time practice of law.



*A Man Should Rejoice*⁴ takes its title from a verse in *Ecclesiastes*: "A man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion."

³ *Illinois Vignettes*. The author, 1 N. La Salle St., Chicago.

⁴ By Virginia Gordon. Westminster, \$2.75.

The portion of Michael Cavanaugh was the town of Great Banks. The site was only an uninhabited spot on the bluffs above the Mississippi when he went there in 1830. Ten years later it was a town, giving promise of continued growth, of prosperity for the man whose force and faith had given it life; holding within its limits the wife and child who gave meaning to what he had done.

This is the story of the first years of an Illinois community and its strange combination of inhabitants—of the Indians who frequently visited it, of the drifters and backwoodsmen who were transiently a part of it, of the educated German physician who found a troubled haven there. The author, Virginia Gordon, was born in Oquawka, a descendant of one of the first settlers of Henderson County. Readers who know Illinois history will recall that Oquawka was originally called the Yellow Banks, and will not have difficulty in identifying the locus of the book.



*The History of Fort Sheridan*⁵ is a brief and lively account, by Lieutenant Robert Schall, of the military post which has stood on the shores of Lake Michigan north of Chicago for well over fifty years. Placed on ground donated by wealthy citizens of the nearby city—who were motivated, it is said, by a desire to have regular troops handy in the not-unlikely event of labor disturbances—Fort Sheridan has been a regular army post, a World War I Officers' Training Camp, a general hospital, a regular army post again, a training center, a reception center, and now, in 1944, a Service Command Training School and a Rehabilitation Center. From it troops have gone to the Spanish-American War, the Mexican punitive expeditions, the World War I, and by many thousands, to World War II.

Lieutenant Schall's account is not the definitive history of the post that may some day be written. Even so, it contains much information that anyone curious about the background of this great military reservation will be grateful for.



"This," says John W. Wayland in the Foreword of *The Bowmans: A Pioneering Family in Virginia, Kentucky, and the Northwest Territory*, "is the story, primarily, of four brothers: John, Abraham, Joseph, and Isaac. Colonel John Bowman was the first county-lieutenant and military governor of Kentucky; Colonel Abraham Bowman commanded the 8th Virginia Regiment, one of the outstanding fighting units of the Revolution;

⁵ Public Relations Office, Fort Sheridan, Ill.

Major Joseph Bowman was a captain in Dunmore's War and the efficient leader, with George Rogers Clark, in the conquest of the Northwest (Illinois) Territory, an achievement without parallel in the building of our nation; Captain Isaac Bowman was a Master of Horse in the Illinois Campaign, a captive three years among the Indians, and an important man of affairs in Kentucky and Virginia." Joseph Bowman died at Vincennes in August, 1779, a few months after Clark's capture of that post; Isaac, after his captivity, returned to his native Virginia to live for forty peaceful years and sire, so it is said, sixteen children. The other two brothers became men of influence in Kentucky.

Dr. Marcus Hansen, whose premature death a few years ago deprived this country of a fine historical talent, once remarked that by their disdain of family histories professional historians had overlooked no small quantity of first-rate source material. This is the kind of book that he had in mind. The Illinois chapter in the lives of Joseph and Isaac Bowman is to be found, in the main, in the two volumes of *George Rogers Clark Papers* published by the Illinois State Historical Library—to which Mr. Wayland freely acknowledges his debt—but the author has performed a useful service in gathering together scattered documents, and he has also added biographical and genealogical material not hitherto available.



Twelve Generations of Farleys, by Jesse Kelso Farley, Jr.,⁶ is another volume that Dr. Hansen would have included among family histories having historical value. It is an account of a family founded in Virginia in 1623, with descendants who attained positions of prominence there and in Tennessee, Illinois, and Iowa.

The Farleys of Illinois and Iowa are naturally of most interest in this connection. The first of these was John Farley, who settled in St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1817, and died at Galena nineteen years later. There one of his sons, Jesse Preston Farley, became a lead miner. Later, after having moved across the Mississippi to Dubuque, he became a merchant, a steamboat operator, and a railroad official. There his son, Jesse Kelso Farley, began a successful business career.

The names that appear in *Twelve Generations of Farleys* are not immortalized in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but the men who bore those names, and many thousands like them, made this nation what it is. That is one reason why books like this have a real place in American historical writing.

⁶ Privately printed, Evanston, Ill.

*Concerning Mr. Lincoln*⁷ is a cryptic title, immediately clarified by a long subtitle: *In Which Abraham Lincoln is Pictured as He Appeared to Letter Writers of his Time*. Included are some sixty letters or extracts from letters which have one common characteristic—all refer at more or less length to Lincoln. Through the eyes of contemporaries one may see the Illinois lawyer in his Springfield office, “gloomy” about his prospects in his campaign of 1858 against Douglas. One may see him as he took leave of his old friends and neighbors on February 11, 1861, almost overcome by emotion. One may see him as John G. Nicolay saw him at a review of the Army of the Potomac—“firm in his saddle as a practiced trooper.” And one may see him as he acknowledged the applause of the audience in Ford’s Theatre on the night of April 14, 1865.

Concerning Mr. Lincoln, however, does more than provide photographic flashes; it offers a measurable contribution to an understanding of the times. Some of the letters throw light on both local and national politics; others describe life in wartime Washington and in the White House while the Lincolns occupied it; still others concern the assassination and funeral ceremonies; and one of the most interesting of all is an account of a session of the trial of the Lincoln conspirators.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt, the compiler, has prefaced each letter with a short introduction, and added necessary footnotes.



Two years ago Guy Study, St. Louis architect, was asked to rebuild the tower of St. Paul’s Church in Alton—a part of the structure that had remained in an unfinished state since it was damaged by a tornado in 1860. His first task was to determine the original appearance of the building, constructed by Captain Benjamin Godfrey in 1834 and enlarged twenty-two years later. In the process he became interested in the history of the parish as well as in the history of the structure. The result was *The History of St. Paul’s Church, Alton, Illinois*.⁸

St. Paul’s Church merits the accolade of recorded history. Its steeple bell tolled on the November night when Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed. Its vestry, formed in April, 1836, was one of the first in the state of Illinois. More than once it heard services conducted by the venerable Philander Chase, first Episcopal bishop of the state. Its rectors and members have been well-known and honored citizens. Mr. Study hardly exaggerates when he says that “the history of St. Paul’s Church is, in a way, a history of Alton.”

⁷ Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. \$3.00.

⁸ Mound City Press, St. Louis, Mo. \$3.00.

As historian, Mr. Study was handicapped by the lack of records, but by developing the religious background, and blending the story of building and parish, he has succeeded in producing an interesting narrative.



Two shorter church histories have recently come to the attention of the Editor. One, "*What Hath God Wrought!*" is a centennial account of the First Baptist Church of Decatur, by Sophia Mary Drobisch; the other, entitled *A Christian Century, 1843-1943*, commemorates the centennial of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago Heights. Both booklets contain narratives, rosters of ministers and church officers, and many photographs.

This is as good a place as any to remind readers that the Illinois State Historical Society is always glad to receive publications of this kind. To preserve just such booklets as those listed in the preceding paragraph is one of its primary functions.



"Old Photographs" was the subject discussed by George H. Wheeler at the February meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. A dinner meeting was held early in June to honor all men and women who were born in Boone County seventy-five or more years ago or who have lived in the county for that period. The affair was planned by the following persons: Fred Marean, Mrs. Fred Warren, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Beckington, James O'Brien, and William Grady.



Members of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) paid tribute to the late John E. Pedderson, president of the Society until his death on January 16, at their mid-year meeting on February 9. On the program which followed, Mrs. Jeanette C. Hallenbeck was the chief speaker. Dressed in a costume of the early Eighties, she recalled numerous customs and events of sixty years ago. A group of singers, also in costume, was led by L. R. Adams. A social hour followed the program.



The story of Edwards County's activities in this war should be carefully preserved if the plans of the Edwards County Historical Society are carried out. All available material on each man and woman who enters the service from Edwards County will be filed in separate envelopes. Data

preserved will include not only the war record of each person, but also sketches of his or her family background, and school, church, and other affiliations before induction. The Society also plans to keep a record of all war activities in the county, such as bond drives, Red Cross work, and various other group projects.



The teaching of United States history in our high schools and colleges was discussed by Dr. Francis L. Bacon at the February meeting of the Evanston Historical Society. Dr. Hugh Elmer Brown and Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, ministers of the First Congregational and Methodist churches in Evanston, respectively, were speakers at the Society's April meeting. Both men have just completed twenty-five year pastorates.



The Geneva Historical Society, organized late in 1943, has several committees studying various features of "home town" life. Buildings and sites, commercial activities, interesting individuals and their contributions—all these will be included in their study. Citizens of the county are urged to assist by making memoranda on various features of the county's history available to the committees.



Members of the Glencoe Historical Society met in the village hall on March 22. George R. Young, village manager, displayed a number of slides made from old photographs.



The city of Highland Park commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding during the week of March 8. Though no big celebration was planned because of the war, most of the clubs and schools marked the event with special programs.



"Excerpts from a Covered Wagon Diary" was the subject of the paper which Mrs. Margaret Richards read at the March meeting of the Lee County Historical Society. The meeting was held in the Loveland Community House.

Officers of the Kankakee County Historical Society have announced that the Society's collection of exhibits has been moved from the third floor of the courthouse to the first floor of the Central School. Here, also, will be displayed the original plaster casts of sculptures by the late George Grey Barnhard, who presented them to the city several years ago. These statues are now being repaired and reassembled.



Abraham Lincoln's law cases in Macon County were discussed by Edwin Davis at the March meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in Decatur.



Milburn P. Akers, managing editor of the *Chicago Sun*, spoke on "Wartime Elections" at the banquet of the Morgan County Historical Society in Jacksonville on March 30. Descendants of pioneers of Morgan County were honored guests on this occasion.

The Society's essay contest is being resumed this year. Prizes will be awarded for papers of not less than 3,000 words on any subject of Old Morgan County (Cass, Morgan, and Scott) history. There will also be special prizes for high school students. Anyone interested in entering the contest should write to Miss Fidelia Abbott, Jacksonville, Illinois, for details.



At the February meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society, a series of American historical episodes was portrayed by Cub Scouts under the direction of L. Wakefield and J. W. Copeland. The Society, which was organized in 1937, now has fifty active members. Meetings are held on the third Thursdays of February, May, and October.



"Battlegrounds of the Civil War" and "The Drum of Shiloh" were the titles of papers presented by Dr. John Voss and Thomas Detweiler, respectively, at the February meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. At the Society's March meeting, H. L. Spooner read a paper on "Early Ferries and Bridges of Peoria" and Mrs. O. B. Stitely discussed "Foundings and Histories of the Academy of Our Lady and Spalding Institute." The program at the April meeting included an account of the early inventors of Peoria by Fred Luthy, Jr., and a discussion of "The Peoria Chapter of the American Revolution" by Mrs. J. C. Thompson.

A debate between Dr. L. G. Osborn and Charles Gergen on the origin of the prehistoric mounds of the Middle West was a feature of the February meeting of the St. Clair County Historical Society.

Members of the Society elected the following officers at this meeting: B. C. McCurdy, president; Maurice V. Joyce, vice-president; L. N. Nick Perrin, Jr., secretary-treasurer. Directors include: John E. Miller, G. F. Baltz, W. R. Dorris, and L. G. Osborn.



The first issue of a quarterly publication of the Southern Illinois Historical Society appeared in February. It contains an account of "Logan in the Legislature" by E. G. Lentz, a description of "The Historical Division of the S. I. N. U. Museum" by John W. Allen, and an account of the meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society in Murphysboro last November.

Members of the Society held their annual spring dinner at Harrisburg on April 19. Clarence Bonnell read a paper on "The Courthouses of Saline County" and Will Griffith discussed "Historic Sites of Egypt." Music was furnished by Miss Elizabeth Steiger and Miss Marjorie Lee. At the business meeting which was held on this occasion, the following officers were elected for 1944-1945: Richard L. Beyer, president; J. Ward Barnes and Mrs. J. P. Schuh, vice-presidents; E. G. Lentz, secretary; N. W. Draper, treasurer; and John I. Wright, archivist. The Society named H. J. Funke, Robert J. Chapman, and Arthur F. Lee to fill three expired terms on the board of directors. John I. Wright was named editor of the Society's quarterly, and his editorial associates are John W. Allen and E. M. Stotlar.



Four classes of membership are available in the new Stephenson County Historical Society: life, \$100.00; sustaining, \$10.00 annually; active, \$2.00 annually; junior and student, \$1.00 annually.

The officers of the organization include: Louis E. Mensenkamp, president; Mrs. Chester A. Hoefer, H. K. Baltzer, and J. R. Jackson, vice-presidents; Miss Helen L. Snyder, secretary; Clarence W. Chapman, treasurer. These officers are also directors. Other directors are: Leslie W. Baldwin, Donald L. Breed, L. M. Coe, Robert P. Eckert, Jr., A. L. Hurd, Miss Harriet Lane, Mrs. J. Roy Nesbit, Carl F. Ogden, Mrs. J. V. Perkins, and A. J. Stukenberg.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of the village of Winnetka was observed on March 13. The celebration was held at Skokie School, with Arthur E. Bryson, village president, acting as chairman. The program included three addresses: "The Charter" by Frederick Dickinson; "The Caucus" by Howard E. Green; and "Looking Forward" by President Bryson. Music was furnished by the New Trier High School ensembles. Arrangements for the celebration were made by the Winnetka Historical Society, of which Mrs. Frederick Dickinson is president.

In connection with Winnetka's anniversary, the village council published an illustrated booklet, "A Look Backward—Ahead."

The Winnetka Historical Society is seeking contributions for its war-time scrapbook. The committee in charge wants service men's and women's photographs and records, broadsides, clippings, obsolete ration books, notices of civilian defense activities, and other documentary material relating to Winnetka's part in the war.



Eleanor Gridley died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Queen Thomas, in Chicago on April 29, at the age of ninety-eight. Mrs. Gridley was known to two generations of Lincoln students for her lifelong interest in the Martyr President's boyhood years. She organized the Lincoln Log Cabin Association and visited the sites connected with Lincoln's youth in Coles County, Illinois, in 1891—horse and buggy days when that neighborhood was considered as remote as some parts of Nevada are today. She wrote an account of her pilgrimage and published it in 1900 under the title, *The Story of Abraham Lincoln or the Journey From the Log Cabin to the White House*. Two years later another book with the same title came from her pen, written as an inspiration for boys. This second work was reprinted three times.

Mrs. Gridley did for the Coles County Lincoln country what the late Ida M. Tarbell did for New Salem. The two women's explorations were contemporary. Their field notes were published within three years of each other. Their deaths occurred less than three months apart.

CONTRIBUTORS

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ORIGIN OF POLITICAL SYMBOLS

By Jay Monaghan

ELECTION year brings out many caricatures of the elephant and the donkey—symbols of the Republican and Democratic parties. Few people know the origins of these emblems. William Myers in his scholarly history, *The Republican Party*, William Murrell in *A History of American Graphic Humor*, and the *Dictionary of American Biography* credit Thomas Nast with inventing the symbols. However, investigation shows a much deeper origin.

Nast was unquestionably a power in politics throughout the 1870's and it is not surprising that he has been credited with the creation of the Republican elephant. Nast's caricatures greatly annoyed William M. Tweed, corrupt New York political boss. Tweed offered Nast half a million to stop drawing. When this failed Tweed threatened violence, but Nast paid no attention to his bribes or threats. Tweed was finally exposed, arrested, and jailed. He escaped and sailed to Europe disguised as a common sailor. By this time Nast's pictures of him were well known, even abroad. He was recognized in Spain, rearrested, and returned to America.

Harper's Weekly acknowledged Nast to be an important pillar of their publication. Readers looked forward to pictures bearing his familiar signature "Th. Nast." A rival pictorial, the *Daily Graphic*, employed a caricaturist who could imitate his style. This man carefully signed his pictures "Th. Wust." in such a way that his name might be easily mistaken for Nast's.

G. O. PACHYDERM

Nast first used the elephant to represent the Republican vote in the by-elections of 1874. That year, in the middle of Grant's second term, a Democratic landslide had occurred. Nast realized that something must be done or the Republicans would fail to elect the next President. The normal Republican vote was as large as Barnum's Jumbo. Nast believed that this vote had been lost by the impractical reforms advocated by some members of his party; by a proposal to inflate the currency and counteract the Panic of 1873; and by the suggestion that Grant might run for a third term. For *Harper's Weekly* Nast drew his conception of the elephant's predicament—a colossus crashing through the planks of his own party. The prophecy did not come true. The Republicans did not lose the subsequent election—the Hayes-Tilden contest—but their victory was perilously close. Thus Nast's symbol was born to worry and uncertainty—a condition likely to impress the elephant on people's minds. From this time forward Jumbo appeared more and more frequently as the emblem of the G.O.P.

It is a mistake, however, to cite Thomas Nast as the first to symbolize the elephant. The Republican Party used him as early as 1860, in Lincoln's campaign. On August 9 of that year the *Illinois State Journal* announced a political rally with a careening elephant at the masthead. This active pachyderm wore two pairs of top boots. On his back a blanket carried the triumphant words, "Clear the track." Stretching between his up-curved trunk and a ring in his tail a streamer proclaimed, "We are coming!" Under this symbol of physical vigor captions screamed "A Political Earthquake" and "The Prairies on Fire for Lincoln." This may well have been the first time the elephant acted in this capacity for the Republicans. During ensuing years he was used more and more frequently. In 1862, anti-Lincoln sheets were using the elephant as a symbol of Lincoln's tyranny.



THOMAS NAST'S REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT IN *Harper's Weekly*, NOVEMBER 7, 1874. AFTER
THIS DATE THE ELEPHANT SYMBOL APPEARS FREQUENTLY.

EARLY HISTORY OF ELEPHANT SYMBOL

The use of the elephant as a symbol seems to be as old as history. His extraordinary profile appeared on Roman coins to commemorate the victory over Pyrrhus in 275 B.C. This same profile was used thirteen hundred years later on medieval tapestry by weavers who had obviously never seen a live elephant. The hind legs of an elephant bend on joints that are hinged exactly opposite from the legs of a horse or dog, but artisans in the Middle Ages did not seem to know this peculiarity of the pachyderm. Contact with the Far East was extremely difficult and knowledge of that spice country was almost mythical.

When America was discovered, the elephant—symbol of the Indies—was used to represent the West as well as the East Indies. For a century the average European failed to differentiate between the two hemispheres. Columbus himself had made the same mistake. Finally, Canada and the rest of North America were segregated in people's minds as the West Indies. So it is not surprising to find William Hogarth, English painter and engraver, using the elephant as the symbol of the British colonies in America during the first half of the eighteenth century. Hogarth's broadsides plastered the walls of the most popular coffee houses in London. The elephant—with improperly jointed legs—and America soon became synonymous.

In the French and Indian War for North America the elephant assumed a new role. Since Roman days he had represented a geographical area. Now he became a political effigy once more. George Townshend, brother of the Townshend whose tea tariffs helped precipitate the American Revolution, came to America in 1759 as brigadier-general of an expeditionary force to take Canada from the French. James Wolfe, the British commander, was killed during the storming of Quebec. Townshend—a cartoonist at heart but also a good soldier—assumed control of the entire army. The French

commander, Marquis de Montcalm, had been killed during the battle. The French surrendered and Townshend accepted the capitulation from Montcalm's aide-de-camp, Louis Bougainville, the soldier-explorer for whom an island in the Pacific was later named. Townshend returned to England in triumph. His family had been staunch supporters of the Hanoverian kings, so when George III came to the throne a bright future beckoned.



With a beard that was filthy and red,
His mouth with tobacco bespread,
Abe Lincoln sat in the gay white house,
A wishing that he was dead—
Swear! Swear! Swear!
Till his tongue was blistered o'er,
Then in a voice not very strong;
He slowly whined the Despot's song;

Lie! Lie! Lie!
I've lied like the very devils!
Lie! Lie! Lie!
As long as lies were of use;



A Political Earthquake!

THE PRAIRIES ON FIRE FOR LINCOLN!

THE BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION EVER
HELD IN THE WEST!

From the collection of Oliver R. Barrett, Kenilworth

**LINCOLN'S REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT; HIS OPPONENTS' CARTOON
OF THE SAME ANIMAL MARCHING TO DESPOTISM**

Only one thing marred Townshend's prospects—his gift for caricature. Townshend disliked personally the Duke of Cumberland, uncle of George III. Cumberland was a very fat, clumsy fellow, and Townshend could not restrain himself from lampooning the Duke as an elephant. This caricature became famous in the bitter political quarrel which marred the opening years of the reign of George III. Thus the ancient symbol became a part of the battle of broadsides and pamphlets between Jacobites, Old Whigs, and King's Friends, which resulted in political chaos in England and the inde-

pendence of the colonies in America. The Townshend elephant—still double-jointed—appeared next in the cartoons of James Gillray, partisan satirist of the Napoleonic era, lampooner of the younger Pitt and notorious for depicting his king as Farmer George.

THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY

The donkey, as a political symbol, does not appear to be so old as the elephant. A humble beast of burden, the jackass has been known for generations as the poor man's friend. At the close of the Revolution, delegates to the Constitutional Convention for the new United States debated the right of all men to vote. Some delegates wanted to restrict the suffrage to owners of property. Benjamin Franklin, a millionaire, objected.¹ He is reported to have said that a farmer might come to town on his donkey to vote. On the way the donkey might die. Then the farmer would lose his right to vote. In such a case, Franklin asked pointedly, did the man or the donkey possess the real right to vote?

In spite of Franklin's objections, a majority of the states insisted on property qualifications until the 1830's—the era of Jacksonian democracy. Many of the new voters were illiterate. Such men could understand pictures, and cartoons assumed a new political importance in America. Jackson posed as the poor man's friend. He was generally pictured riding on a donkey. Almost any man could understand that. Jackson was also opposed to the United States Bank—the money power or Wall Street it was called later. Whigs liked to picture Jackson's donkey stumbling over the Bank. Almost any man could understand that too.

OTHER ANIMAL SYMBOLS

Jackson's opponents, the Whigs, invented an alligator-horse for their party. Since the great day when frontiersmen defeated the British at New Orleans, popular songs had de-

¹ Max Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), II: 205.



Reproduced from *A History of American Graphic Humor*, Vol. I, published by The Whitney Museum of American Art

ANDREW JACKSON RIDING THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1832.

scribed Kentucky boys as alligator-horses.² The Whigs hoped that this animal would prove as popular with poor men as the donkey. For a decade the donkey and the alligator-horse were as familiar to voters as the elephant and donkey are today. In 1840 William Henry Harrison sought the western vote with his cider, log cabin, and coonskin cap campaign. Thereafter the raccoon and the donkey remained political symbols down to the Civil War, when, as has been explained, Lincoln's elephant came to the front.

Another noteworthy animal symbol selected to represent a political party was Theodore Roosevelt's bull moose. Strangely enough Teddy Roosevelt, the big game hunter, had worked harder, and had had less success, killing moose than any other North American big game. Perhaps these hunting troubles challenged his irrepressible energy. Certainly the name "moose" intrigued him years before he contemplated using it as a badge to bolt the party. In April, 1905, a month after his inauguration, Roosevelt went to Colorado on a bear hunt. He camped in a high mountain meadow where wild flowers bloomed in the black mud around melting snowdrifts. Bears had just come out of their dens. Restless and hungry, they traveled long distances, making good trails for the hunters. Cowboys from nearby ranches rode daily with the sportsmen to "see the President kill a bear." Roosevelt was impressed by the friendly good nature of these young horsemen. "Whenever they had a chance they all rode at headlong speed, paying no heed to the slope of the mountainside or the character of the ground," he remembered, "hardy as so many young moose."³ Why did the President compare the horsemen to "young moose" instead of to "young elk"—animals which ranged the surrounding hills and had been thoroughly familiar to him in his ranching days? Whatever the answer, Roosevelt's mind

² Jay Monaghan, "Literary Opportunities in Pioneer Times," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXIII, No. 4 (Dec., 1940), 425.

³ Theodore Roosevelt, "A Colorado Bear-Hunt," *The Wilderness Hunter* (New York 1926), 462.

in 1905 was on moose—the game hard to bag—and his thoughts returned to them once more in 1912.

Political caricaturists have sometimes carried their art to extremes. A favorite method of belittling candidates has been to affix the aspirant's head on an animal's body. An artist with moderate skill can thus make the candidate ridiculous. This device was used as early as Jackson's administration and persisted into the first decade of the twentieth century. In Philadelphia the practice became peculiarly pernicious. Senator Boies Penrose, Republican leader of the state, induced the legislature to prohibit the practice. In other states cartoonists have confined themselves to more skillful artistry and have not been disturbed by law. Political caricature as practiced today promises to be as permanent as freedom of the press itself.

THE WRECK OF THE *JAMES WATSON*

A Civil War Disaster

THE newspapers of the time gave it little space. Here is the telegraphic dispatch that was sent from Cairo, Illinois, on March 6, 1865:

The Memphis and Vicksburg packet *James Watson*, laden with Government freight, a large number of passengers and 86 soldiers, sunk 12 miles below Napoleon Landing on the morning of the 2d. Over 30 lives were lost, including Adams' Express messenger, 20 soldiers, several ladies and children. The officers of the boat were mostly saved. The steamer and cargo is a total loss.

After all, wrecks are common enough in wartime, and what is the death of thirty people when many times that number die each day on battlefields?

But to Private John F. M. Fortney of Company K, 33rd Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry, the wreck of the *James Watson* was the event of a lifetime, as the following letters testify. Private Fortney was a new recruit who had enlisted at Yatesville, Illinois, on February 11. He and others were being sent south as replacements for a regiment badly depleted by nearly four years of campaigning. Among those who had enlisted with him, and who were also on the *James Watson*, was David Miller—the "Dave" of the first letter. The Fortney letters came into Miller's possession, and were recently donated to the Illinois State Historical Library by his son, Thomas A. Miller, of Los Angeles, California. In printing these letters, the orthography of the originals has been retained.

March 2, 1865, was a disastrous day for the 33rd Illinois. On that day the regiment, which had been doing garrison duty in Louisiana for nearly a year, entrained for New Orleans. From there, as a part of the 16th Corps, it was to take

part in the expedition against Mobile. The entire regiment, except the recruits who, like Fortney and Miller, were en route, was on one train. About noon, the train struck a horse at a crossing. The second car jumped the track and tipped over; the remaining cars piled into it, and a major disaster ensued. More than eighty men were killed or seriously injured, and the regiment was unfit for duty for several weeks.—*Editor.*

WHITE RIVER LANDING, ARK.
Mar. 4th, 1865

DEAR SIR—

I am seated, this clear & bright, tho chilly morning, at a table, on board the steamer *Nebraska*, a very large and magnificent boat, used at this time as a rest, or home for soldiers. I am endeavoring to write to you, but I am laboring under stupendous difficulties, but I hope to be able to overcome them all, and give you a history of our experience since our departure from the city of Memphis. You would doubtless smile, involuntarily, were you to step in and see me in my present most ludicrous, but at the same time, most miserable plight. I am hatless, bootless, coatless, and almost senseless. What few clothes I have on, are still wet and full of mud. My hands are cold & numb, and I am shivering with cold, being obliged to sit away from the stove, in order to write. You have heard ere this, some account of the wreck of the steamer, *James Watson*—on her passage from Memphis Tenn. to Vicksburg Miss.

I shall now endeavor to give you the particulars of that calamitous event, as truly and as briefly as possible. I have already informed you, in my last letter, that we left Cairo, last Monday evening, and arrived in Memphis Wednesday morning at 3 o'clock. We went ashore as soon as the grey morning arose in the East, and proceeded at once to the Soldiers Home, a distance of 1 1/2 miles from the point of landing. Here we washed off the soot and dirt which covered

our faces, ate a very hastily prepared breakfast, ascertained that we would leave for Vicksburgh some time during the following evening, and made preparations for a ramble through the proud and aristocratic city of Memphis. I proceeded at once in search of Thos. G. Andres, who I succeeded in finding, but not until I had traversed nearly one half of the entire city, and after having nearly broken myself down in my efforts to trace him up. I found him at Gen. Dana's headquarters, remained with him an hour or two in the office, dined with him, and after dinner he took me around to see the various attractions in this truly beautiful city. I parted with him about 2 o'clock P.M., went back to the Home, rested an hour or two, and then in pursuance of orders, proceeded to the wharf of the *James Watson*. We could not get aboard, however, till nearly dark, and when we did get on, we all selected our places, for the night, and being tired and weary, immediately laid down to sleep and to rest, some on the boiler or lower deck, some on the cabin or middle deck, and some on the Hurricane or upper deck.

All of our 33d boys, except those 7 from Jacksonville slept on the cabin deck, between the staterooms and guards; they slept below on the boiler deck. Dave & I slept together, just before us were Luke & Keltner. The other boys were scattered about in different places. I had not been lying down but a very short time before I was wrapped in the strong & sweet embrace of Morpheus. And when I awoke, I found the rain descending in torrents, the wind blowing furiously, and our blankets and overcoats thoroughly saturated by the water, dripping from the eaves of the Hurricane deck, and blown by the wind upon us. I awoke Dave to the sense of our condition, and looking around me as well as I could in the terrible darkness which enshrouded us, I found that we were the sole occupants of this part of the steamer. I observed also that the boat was tied up at a strange place, and rightly concluded that we had been under way, but that owing to the darkness

of the night, were compelled to tie up. This was about 50 miles below Memphis and about 12 o'clock in the night. Finding our position here untenable, Dave & I immediately pulled up stakes, and hastily evacuated it. After a short reconnoissance, we selected and occupied an impregnable position upon the boiler deck, to which the other boys had retreated some time before us. We hung our wet blankets & overcoats around the stoves & boilers, and then sit, stood, & laid around till day dawned. When day broke a dense, heavy fog, impenetrable to the eye, completely invested us.

The *Watson*, however, soon got under way, and away we went, but for the life of me, I could not tell what direction. While we are waiting for the fog to rise, I will tell you something about our steamer.

She was in size, rather under the medium, but a very beautiful vessel. Handsomely, tho very delicately constructed, seeming to be better adapted for mere pleasure excursions, than for the transportation of such freight as she was laden with. Her officers are reported to be rebels, and I know from personal observation that they were all addicted to use of intoxicating drinks. I never saw so much liquor drank by such a few men, as I saw drank on board the *Watson* from the time she got under way this morning till a few hours previous to her wreck. And it is the universal opinion of the passengers who have survived the calamitous accident, if it was an accident, that "*Whisky wrecked the Watson.*" But they were kind to us and did all they could to make us comfortable, in our uncomfortable quarters. But I must return: about 1/2 past 8 o'clock the fog had lifted and passed away.

The sun shone warm and bright, not a cloud could be seen in all the canopy of the azure heavens, & no evidence could be found upon the upper decks of the storm of the previous night. We congratulated ourselves upon the promise of a dry & pleasant day. But this mere respite was of short

duration. About noon, dark & ominous clouds began to loom up in the distant southern horizon—gradually ascending the deep blue vault above us untill the sun, in his meridian splendor, was totally eclipsed, and we again deprived of the warmth of his genial rays. Faces which one short hour before were beaming with mirth and happiness, now looked dark, gloomy & dejected. Soon it began to rain, and the indications around us assured us that we would be compelled once more, to abandon our quarters upon the upper decks, and retreat to the boiler deck as the only alternative to a wetting. We went below, and remained, till late in the evening. I summoned a council, consisting of the greater portion of the 33d boys, and after a brief consultation, we concluded to attempt the occupation of the floor of the cabin during the coming night. We thought no harm would follow the effort, and that if the Captain should protest, we could then fall back and entrench ourselves upon the boiler deck as a kind of “last ditch.” Accordingly, after supper was over, the tables cleared away, and most of the passengers had retired to their respective staterooms, being too drunk to sit up longer, and seeking their beds, to sleep off the effects of the whisky they had imbibed during the night & day immediately preceding, we began to drop in one at a time till nearly all of our boys except Luke & Dave who preferred to sleep outside, and those 7 from Jacksonville, who remained below.

Those of us who came in brought with us nothing but our blankets, having secured our knapsacks as well as we could from the rain, we left them on the outside. We sit around the stove some time, giving the Captain a chance to guess our intentions, & also an opportunity to enter his protest. We soon learned however, that no objections would be made against us remaining during the night, and we began to make ourselves as nearly at home, as the regulations of the boat would justify, and our sense of propriety would dictate. This was about 9 o'clock. The boat was running at her usual

speed, though it was intolerably dark, and the rain descending in perfect torrents. Many of the boys had selected their places and had lain down. Some outsiders, who had observed through the windows, that we were doing pretty well also came in, and at this time there must have been at least 25 boys on the inside of the cabin.

I will now make another slight digression, & inform you that Rudolf Oliver, a young man from Cass Co. was very sick all day. Archie Campbell & myself asked and obtained for him a berth in one of the staterooms. He had when I last saw him a very high fever, which rendered him at times completely delirious. His friends were very attentive to him, refusing to lie down, while he continued in this condition. Archie Campbell & B. L. Simms insisted upon singing a few songs from my patriotic Glee book, which I purchased in Cairo. I got the book from my knapsack, and we sang untill eleven o'clock. While I was out getting the book, I heard the Mate remark, to the Captain that, when they should arrive at White River they had better tie up for the night. The Capt. replied that "*a pilot who could not run a boat such a night as this was not fit for a pilot.*" But did not give the order to tie up. We arrived at White River about the time we had ceased our singing and while the boat was stopping at this point, Archie went into Rudolf's room to see how he was getting along. He came back shortly & reported that "*Rude was sleeping quietly & in a state of moist perspiration.*" All the boys then laid down, except Archie & myself, and some 6 others who were below us playing a game of cards. I did not feel sleepy, and resumed the reading of the *Empire City*, a novel Jim Keltner had bought in Cairo to read while going down the river. I had not read a great while, before the Captain ordered the lights down. While the negro was turning down the lights, I made down my bed. But finding that he had left one of them burning brightly, I again took up my book & walked down to the light and finished the chapter.

Throwing down the book, I took out my pocket book, examined its contents, read a piece of poetry contained by one of them, and then concluded to go to bed. As I passed Archie I remarked to him that we had better go to bed, as we had but a short time, in which to make up for lost sleep, not sleeping much during the past night. He replied, that he did not feel at all sleepy, but that he would soon retire. I was singularly impressed by the sadness of the tone, in which the above remark was delivered, and also by the sad expression upon his countenance. While I was preparing to go to bed, I was at the same time revolving in my mind the cause which had operated to produce this change in one who had hitherto been one of the merriest of our party. Sometimes I would attribute it to uneasiness for young Oliver to whom he was greatly attached, and sometimes to thoughts of those dear ones at home, who he in all probability had seen for the last time. While my thoughts were thus occupied, and while I was adjusting my coat under my head, *Crash* went the steamer against some object which shook her from stem to stern, and which brought everyone in my presence to their feet. Perfect silence ensued for about a minute. After that time some began to lay down and some to dress themselves. Immediately upon hearing the noise made by the vessel, I jumped up & hastily pulled on my boots, and seizing my hat & coat I at once started to go below, to find out the cause of the crashing noise we had heard. I had just got to the cabin door, when I felt the boat settling down upon her right side. The Captain at the same time rushed frantically past me exclaiming, "My God boys we are lost. The boat is sinking." He then rushed up to the Hurricane deck. I followed him. When I got up the boat had sunk her boiler decks entire & one half of her cabin deck was also completely submerged. By the time the boys below had got up, the boat had turned upon her side, so much that the water upon the side of the Hurricane on which I was standing, was up to my knees & fast rising. I knew that

I would soon be lost if I maintained my position here, but how to get upon the other side was the question. I saw many boys attempt to climb up on the Texas, (a row of staterooms upon the Hurricane deck) and saw them fail to get up. But I concluded to make the effort, and watched my chance to make the jump which would either take me out of the water, or which would plunge me into the river, perhaps into eternity. A flash of lightning revealed to me an open space upon the Texas, and I made a desperate leap, and succeeded in catching hold of the cornice around its outer edge. I had got one leg up and would soon have had up the other, when an infernal negro sprung up and clutched it. Here now, was a predicament indeed. I could not hope to hold on very long, while he was hanging to me, and to fall off into the water with him hanging to me would be certain, unavoidable death.

But I could not get him off, no entreaties could prevail upon him to let my leg go. He struggled manfully to clamber up, & I struggled just as manfully to hold on, though I felt my strength growing weaker every moment, but fortunately for me, he succeeded in securing a foothold, and I had the satisfaction to feel him crawling over me and securing the very place which I marked out for myself. Notwithstanding my perilous situation I could not help wishing him damned. Fifteen minutes had not elapsed since the snagging of the boat, and the time I got upon the Texas, but in that time two thirds of the boat was under water, and the remaining third, containing all who had escaped immediate death, fast sinking into the depths of the murky Mississippi. I will not attempt to describe to you my feelings at this time. You must endeavor to imagine them. I had no hopes of being saved, had made up my mind to drown, and with the brief ejaculation, "God have mercy upon my soul" I seated myself upon the narrow deck of the Texas and complacently awaited the fast approaching fate of the doomed

Watson. From this time forward I was perfectly composed, completely self possessed and preserved throughout complete presence of mind. I will not attempt to describe the scene before me. For although I have a distinct knowledge of everything that occurred after my arrival upon this deck, yet the awful scene baffles my poor powers of description. All around me, some standing, some kneeling, some sitting, were stout stalwart men, men who never before acknowledged the terrifying stare of the monster death, and who never perhaps lifted up a prayer to God in all their lives, calling in the agony of their despairing souls, upon him to save, who alone was able. Oh how sincerely, how humbly they implored the assistance of him who a few short moments before, they had dishonored. No language of mine can perfectly represent the awful scene then before me. I must hasten with the other eventful details. I suppose I had been upon the deck of the Texas, perhaps 10 minutes when I heard another crashing sound which almost froze the blood in our veins. The smoke stacks had given way, and were fast falling into the water, threatening to tear away the delicately constructed deck upon which I was seated. I made haste to abandon my seat, and concluded to jump down upon the upper side of the Hurricane deck. I did so, and so did nearly one half who were up there. We had not been down over 5 minutes, till the smoke stacks went overboard, and down came the Texas & Pilot house, a heap of broken rubbish. How many were precipitated into the river I am unable to say, and how many were then drowned we will never know. After the breaking away of the cumbrous smoke stacks and the falling down of the Pilot house, the steamer righted herself so much that the right side of the Hurricane deck was entirely out of the water. This circumstance revealed the fact to all who were not scared out of their wits, and who were noticing such things, that the boat was not sinking any further, but that she was slowly drifting in the

current. This gave me the only hope I had yet entertained of our ultimate deliverance. I knew that if she kept in the deep waters of the main channel, that we could probably hold on till morning when some passing steamer would rescue us.

While indulging in the pleasures of hope, listening to the piteous groans of the men & the more piteous cries of the Ladies, I quietly occupied a recumbent position near the stern of the Hurricane deck. As I told you before, this entire deck was now for the first time above water, but I could reach over the side and feel the water with my hand. I was aroused at length, from my reveries by a loud and prolonged shout from the men, who seemed to be determined to drown the reverberating echoes of the terrible thunder. I got up and looking ahead of the boat, I espied a light, and readily attributed the joyous outburst to this hope inspiring object. It was impossible to tell how far distant the light was, whose faint glimmerings was scarcely visible through the torrents of rain, descending upon our devoted heads. But we knew it proceeded from a steamer. And now if you could only have heard the one prolonged, I might say continual shout from the mouths of these hopeful men, you would have thought that all animated nature, were together in one assembled group, shouting, yelling, whooping & crying all at the same time. In vain the Captain importuned, commanded them to be silent. In vain he told them that such discordant shouting & yelling would avail them nought. But they continued to halloo at the top of their voices, some one thing and some another, and thus they hallooed till our boat drifted opposite the light, which proved indeed to proceed from a steamer at anchor, at a short distance from us.

No recognition of our signal, if signal it may be called, was seen or heard. The result was just as the Captain had foretold. We were conceived to be guerrillas, on the Arkansas shore, and no attention was paid to our uproarious shouts.

We soon passed the light, and as its faint twinklings receded in the distant past, Hope again went out in the hearts of many. Darkness again surrounded us, again the men resumed there petitions to the throne of mercy. Many were the prayers that ascended for ultimate & eternal salvation, and many for present salvation from their impending fate. All around me was one loud and continual wail of anguish, lamentations over a past life of sinfulness, and many promises to refrain in the event of their escape from their threatened destruction. Truly I thought, "here is Godly sorrow for sin" but it has not worked that reformation which needs not to be repented of. For so soon as they were saved, those same men, who wept as infants, in the hour of danger, became brave again, forgetting their registered vows to God to cease to do evil, & begin to do well.

I had again laid down, and this time I found that the water was again upon the Hurricane deck. I was endeavoring to find a cause for this, other than a sinking condition, when her bows struck something which shook her almost to pieces. I looked across her right side & could see the timber on the Ark. shore. All on the wreck was now in a dreadful tumult, rushing first to her bows then to her stern, first upon one side then upon the other, some jumping overboard and saving themselves by swimming ashore others perhaps to sink into a watery grave.

Here I again gave up to drown. I knew that she could not stand together as she was but that shattered & torn as she was she would go to pieces and the most of us inevitably drown. But I saw that her stern was swinging around, and I had hopes that she would again float off without receiving further injury. This she did. Just as her stern had swung around so as to bring her sides at right angles with the course of the river, she let go her hold and again we were adrift upon the rapidly rolling waters of the Miss. Her striking caused a momentary lull in the cries & prayers of the men,

but no sooner had she resumed her downward progress, than had the men resumed their upward flight. All again was a tumultuous, heartrending, & head distracting noise. I suppose we had proceeded in this way for an hour perhaps, when again the joyful exclamation of "a light," "a boat" was heard from the lips of the entire crowd. And such unearthly hallooing as immediately ensued, was never heard by me before; one shout after another might have been heard for at least an hour. Still no answer was given from the vessel which was now nearly opposite. Indeed no sound could have been heard by any of us, so deafening was the tumult around us. The Captain again tried to still the men, but they would listen to no arguments, no appeals, no commands nor threats. We drifted by again, & gradually the light began to fade from our sight, when the boat struck once more and seemed as if she was being lifted out of the waters. She rocked from one side to the other, and threatened momentarily to go to pieces. I was upon her stern, the waters were rolling over her decks sweeping all the loose timbers away.

Now, I was sure my time had come. I caught a cabin door that was floating by me, pulled off my boots & coat threw my hat into the river, and resolved when the worst came to the worst, to make a desperate effort to make the shore, which was not more than 200 yards off. I had held on to my coat & boots up to this time, but a sudden plunge of the boat threw me flat upon my back into the water. I saw my coat & boots float away but I could not save them. I held to my door however, and soon got up, to find the deck high & dry. I walked to the bows and looking over I saw that she was raised at least 10 feet out of the water. The Captain announced that the boat was fast upon a sand bar, and that the probability was we would all be saved if we would keep our places till morning, but that any swimming around would be likely to careen the boat upon one side or the other, and in this case he could not see how escape could be possible.

After some silence had been secured, he also told us that the light of the boat we had just passed was still within hailing distance, and if they would all keep perfectly still & allow but one man to halloo at a time we might succeed in making known our condition to them. This was agreed to, a man selected to give the signal who hallooed till he could halloo no longer, then another relieved him, & so on till at least a dozen men, with stentorian voices had been worn out. Still no answer had been elicited.

Fortunately some fellow found the bell which everyone supposed had gone overboard. When its deep ringing tones went out upon dark expanse of muddy waters, twas accompanied with such a tremendous shout of heartfelt joy as was seldom heard by mortal ears before. The Captain directed it to be struck 5 consecutive strokes then an interval of a minute, then 5 more & so on till a reply was heard. Oh how eagerly was every ear adjusted, to catch the answering signal. How awfully still & silent were the men during the interval between the ringing of the bell. At last the eagerly expected signal was heard, and as it floated musically upon the boisterous waters what hopes were excited within the bosoms that had long been filled with despair.

Soon a yawl was sent to ascertain our condition. When within speaking distance, they hailed us, we made known our condition, they pulled up to us, left one of their men on board with us, while they returned to hurry up preparations for our rescue. While we are waiting in awful suspense, for the promised relief I will endeavor to describe my condition at this time, and when I do so I shall also describe the condition of more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the entire party.

I have told you that I had lost my coat & boots, and that I had thrown away my hat. Therefore I was standing in this half denuded state, convulsively shivering in the cold & violent blasts of a Northern wind which seemed to be trying to blow us away, the rain pouring a perfect deluge

upon our devoted heads. And then the darkness which enveloped us was truly awful. I could not distinguish a white man from a black, even when in touching distance, and several times I had to place my hand upon a fellow being's head in order to determine his race for the drenching pitiless rain, and small gusts of chilling winds had completely divested them, (the negro) of that peculiar smell by which they may be ordinarily distinguished.

Added to all this, dread thunders, in one peal after another, in rapid & quick succession rolled over our heads while the flashes of livid lightning, too brilliant for the eye, only added to the intensity of the surrounding blackness. Thus we stood shivering with cold in every joint anxiously awaiting the coming of the distant steamer. And my thoughts during these two interminable hours oh how bitter. I thought of home, I thought of your feelings when you should hear of us all perishing in the wreck of this ill-fated steamer. And my companions oh where were they. I had not seen one of them during the awful night. I was afraid to call to them for fear they would not answer. How many of them, would I be called upon to announce to their hopeful friends at home, as victims of this fatal catastrophe. The thought was nearly overwhelming & I struggled hard to banish them from my mind & to await my deliverance before I sought to know the soulsickening truth. The steamer was seen to move, she got under way & soon she was securely fastened along side of the *Watson's* wreck.

With hearts swelling with gratitude to God & throbbing with exultant joy, we passed from the deck of the hideous wreck to the warm & comfortable cabin of the *William Butler*. I was among the first to get off after the ladies. I took a position where I could see them as they came off. The first I saw was Josiah. He told me that Luke & Dave were safe. Then the boys began to rush on board in such a manner that it was impossible to tell who were there or who were not.

I ran up in the cabin to look for the boys. I found Luke & Dave. I then went below to search. There I found Lucas, Farmer & Clark Worth, but Keltner could not be found, poor fellow. I fear he is lost.

When I got back to the cabin day was beginning to dawn. I went aboard of the wreck & assisted in hunting for those who were drowned. We found but eight, 6 soldiers & two ladies. Young Oliver was found, & Thos. Ayers of Jacksonville. I found my boots in the search, took them on board of the *Butler* & put them in one corner of the cabin and went back to look for my other things. All were gone but my coat. I found it and took it also on the *Butler*. But I gave it to Clark Worth who needed it worse than myself. I found to my mortification that someone had stolen my boots while I was gone.

About 7 o'clock the Captain of the *Butler* hailed the *Isabella*, a steamer bound up the river. She came up and we were placed on board and brought to this place. We have been here ever since yesterday 10 o'clock, without clothes and but little to eat. A lady on board of this boat gave me a pair of cotton socks, the only dry thread I have had upon me for nearly 36 hours. I do not know when we are to leave here, probably not before Monday, perhaps sooner. I will now recapitulate and conclude this very lengthy letter, written under very difficult circumstances. We snagged the *Watson* about 12 o'clock in the night, drifted down the river about 25 miles, was rescued by the *William Butler* at daylight. We had on board 80 men, recruits for different regts. Out of the 80 we have lost 22. The 33d had 21 recruits, we have lost sight of them. I cannot say how many citizen passengers were lost nor how many of the crew. Many of the boys who saved their lives are badly hurt and cut to pieces by the falling of the Texas & Pilot house, and by breaking through the glass windows, in their egress from the cabin. Not more than a dozen men escaped uninjured. Nearly all of

us have lost everything we had. I have now done the best I could under the trying circumstances to give you some idea of our suffering and as I am too cold to write, I will now conclude. Write to me immediately.

Yours with respect
J. F. M. FORTNEY

N. ORLEANS
Mar. 12th, 1865

SIR:

Though I finished this letter at White River, I delayed mailing it, hoping that in a few days we might hear something of Keltner, but no tidings have yet reached us from him & I suppose we must conclude that he was drowned. Nothing either from Archie Campbell. Both I suppose found a grave in the "Father of Running Waters."

We have been providentially saved, for what purpose remains to be known, but we should feel eternally grateful to the Father of Mercies for his kindness in delivering us from the jaws of a terrible death. I am in the city of Orleans. We found the Regt. in camp here, awaiting transportation for the doomed city of Mobile. We will not be here long. Preparations are being hurriedly made to send us off. I found all the boys well. I am tenting with Ed. I saw Solomon's boy yesterday. He is well. I also saw Lucius Bertram & Jack Ellerton. They are both well & look finely.

We left White River, on the same night I finished writing. We drew a change of clothing and left about eight o'clock on board the *Lund*, arrived at the city Monday night, went ashore Tuesday morning, and came in to camp about 2 o'clock.

The boys, with the exception of Clark Worth are well. Clark is sick in the hospital. I think he has the measles. Write soon.

Yours &c.
MORT TO JOSH

THE LAST YEARS OF KASKASKIA

THE publication of the article, "The Old French Towns of Illinois in 1839," in the *Journal* for December, 1943, led Miss Daisy L. Whiteside, of Belleville, to recall that she had in her possession a manuscript describing Kaskaskia as it appeared during the last years of its existence. The manuscript was written by Mrs. Charles L. French in the late 1890's, and describes a visit which she and her sister, Miss Rose S. Crisler, had made to the old capital of Illinois a short time previously.

Mrs. French, whose maiden name was Maude Roxana Crisler, and her sister were descendants of Abel Crisler and Amasa Aldrich, who had entered land near Kaskaskia while Illinois was still a territory. In the Nineties, Miss Crisler was living in Chester, and a visit from Mrs. French, who resided in Jacksonville, was the occasion for the trip to Kaskaskia. While there Mrs. French made the two black-and-white sketches which are used as illustrations with this article.

Kaskaskia, at the time this account was written, was obviously close to its end. The Mississippi broke through to the channel of the Kaskaskia River north of the town in 1881; every year thereafter it nibbled at the old village. By 1910 every original structure except the Menard home was gone. That is now a state memorial, and has been restored to its original appearance.—*Editor*.

While visiting at Chester late last fall, we were delighted to have the good fortune to spend a day in and around

old Kaskaskia, one of the most historic spots in the Mississippi Valley. We were desirous of getting some sketches of the fast decaying ruins before another flood of the Father of Waters sweeps away the last vestige of this glorious landmark of interest, not alone to the people of Illinois. We were not only interested in Kaskaskia and vicinity as students of history; the place is also dear to us as the scene of our childhood. Fishing at the old mill pond has afforded us much sport, and going on all-day picnics and hunting parties to the pecan orchard near the river, which was not far from the Pierre Menard house, was also a source of much amusement. We often ate our dinners at a delightful spring on the side of Garrison Hill, usually called Fort Gage.¹

There are many interesting relics in the vicinity of Kaskaskia, and numerous historic bits of nature, which would delight the heart of an artist; and among the historic [places] are Riley's Mill and the Menard House. Old Kaskaskia has been doomed for many a day. The remorseless rivers have almost finished the destruction of the once-little Franco-American village, of which so many romantic and beautiful stories have been told and written. Her history will always have a halo of greatness hovering about it. Its soil, which has been trod by the red man, by the Jesuit missionaries, by brave hearted pioneers and later visited by the noble and patriotic Lafayette, has also been the home of some of America's great and disinterested statesmen, such as Bond, Breese, Kane, Morrison, Menard and Shields.² Kaskaskia was the first permanent settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains; here was built the strongest fortress in North America; it was here the British planted a stronghold after their victory on the Plains of Abraham and the

¹ Actually, Fort Gage was the name of a stone structure that stood in the village of Kaskaskia; the fort on the eminence to which the writer refers was properly called Fort Kaskaskia. In the course of time the people of the neighborhood reversed the nomenclature.

² Shadrach Bond, first governor of Illinois; Sidney Breese, United States senator and chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court; Elias Kent Kane, United States senator; William Morrison, pioneer merchant; Pierre Menard, first lieutenant-governor of Illinois; James Shields, soldier and senator from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri.

capture of Quebec. It was the proud capital of the territory and later of the State of Illinois. It was the Mecca of commerce, and the center of civilization in the Great West.³

In the early part of the last century, Kaskaskia reached the zenith of her prosperity. Her business men commanded the trade of the whole Mississippi Valley, and she was looked upon as the seat of culture and refinement.⁴ As wealth and population shifted in the state, the old town began to lose her importance, trade sought other centers, and it was no longer the seat of government for an empire. Then came the encroachment of the Mississippi River, finally breaking through and mingling its waters with those of the Okaw,⁵ washing away large portions of land, and compelling removals from time to time. The narrow strip of land on which the town was first situated is now an island. The church of the Immaculate Conception, the priest's house, and part of the old town have been removed a few miles south on the island, and is now called New Kaskaskia.⁶

We first visited the ruins once known as Riley's Mill, situated two miles north of the town, and nestling on a ridge about half way up the side of the bluff. The annals tell us that Riley's Mill was the first built in the West, and it is a certainty that it stands today where it has stood for nearly two hundred years, a quarter of a century before the building of Fort Chartres. This mill was first erected by Prix Pagi,⁷ and for a number of years it furnished flour to the New Orleans and Mobile markets. How long Pagi continued to operate the mill is unknown. He met his death at the hands

³ Kaskaskia, though important historically, hardly deserves the writer's superlatives. Even within the state, Bellefontaine, Peoria, and Cahokia antedated it as long-lived American settlements; and neither of the forts located there (see note 1 above) could be called very strong. (The reference is probably to Fort de Chartres at Prairie du Rocher.) Nor could Kaskaskia be called "the center of civilization in the Great West."

⁴ Another statement that should be heavily discounted in the interest of historical accuracy.

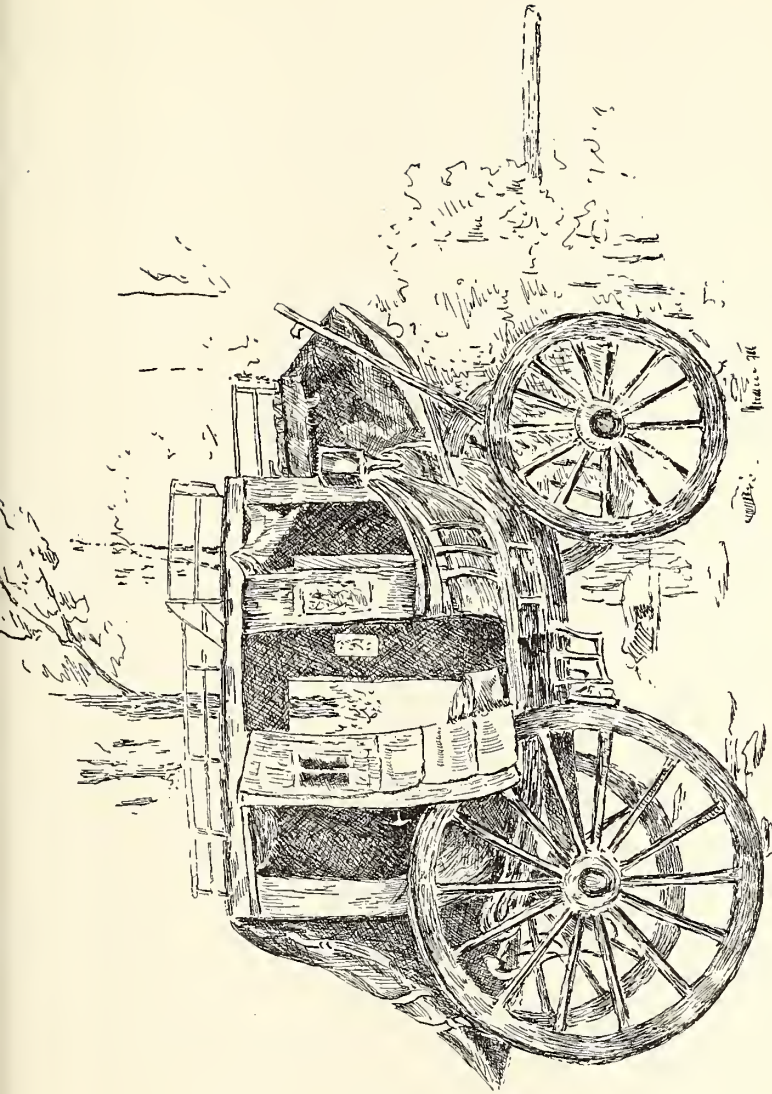
⁵ The colloquial name of the Kaskaskia River.

⁶ Kaskaskia Island remains a part of Illinois, although it is west of the Mississippi River.

⁷ Doubtless Prix Pagi, although the name is spelled "Pagi" in deeds of conveyance.

of Indians. The mill was attacked by a band of Kickapoo Indians, and Pagi, with some negroes, was killed. One negro escaped by the back way and gave the alarm to the people of Kaskaskia. Pagi's body was found literally cut to pieces, his head severed from it and thrown into the hopper. The manner of his death is the theme of a legend. His ghost still lingered about the place, the mill was haunted. Pagi came to the mill and passed the night repairing the machinery; lights were seen moving from place to place, as if the owner were inspecting the progress of the wheat. This routine would go on until near morning, when spectral Indians were seen to creep into the mill and re-enact the old tragedy, with ghostly shrieks and groans. Even to this day, an old inhabitant tells us, on stormy nights the spectre of the mill is seen, and tiny lights flit about the old vine-covered walls of the mill and the bluffs ring with shrieks until in the gray dawn they disappear. So strong was the fear of the haunted mill that no Frenchman was willing to brave its terrors, so it was abandoned. In 1795, Col. Edgar bought the tract of land, restored the mill and made it once more a center of activity. It finally ceased to operate, and remained idle for many years. Daniel Riley became the owner in 1845, an overshot wheel was put in, so that the grinding could be carried on nearly all the year. In 1853, steam boilers were put in, a frame structure being erected for that purpose adjoining the stone mill. White steam trailed along the bluff of the Okaw until the early Seventies, when the mill was abandoned for the last time, and given over to the ghost of poor Pagi.

As we looked about us at the old dilapidated houses and store buildings clustering about the mill, decayed and falling to pieces, we thought them also fit habitation for ghostly visitors. An uncanny air pervaded the place, weird and lifeless indeed, were it not for the beautiful golden sunshine, the birds singing in the gorgeously robed trees as though it were springtime, and the little crystal rill bubbling and



MENARD FAMILY COACH,
SKETCHED BY THE AUTHOR.

sparkling as merrily as in "ye olden time." With the exception now and then of a poor family living in a room or two of some rambling old house not yet fallen to decay, the place is entirely deserted. To the south, a short distance from here, is the former residence of Daniel Riley, in much better condition than the other buildings, and occupied by four families. Farther up the bluff is the tomb of Elias Kent Kane, the first senator in the State of Illinois.⁸ He began as a lawyer in Kaskaskia in 1814, was sent to the U. S. Senate, where he achieved, as we all know, an enviable reputation.

Following the narrow, winding, but very picturesque roadway south along the river for two miles, one comes to the old Menard House, just under the bluff almost opposite Kaskaskia. This house was built by Pierre Menard, the first lieutenant-governor of Illinois, in 1778. The house is historic for many reasons. Lafayette on his visit to the United States in 1825 was entertained here.⁹ It was here that Menard brought his young and beautiful bride, Angelique Saucier, to preside over his elegant home, a great event in the aristocratic French society of Kaskaskia. The house is frame with stone basement, numerous out-buildings surround the old mansion, some of stone; among others, a large pigeon house, slave quarters, etc., giving evidence of the former importance of the place. For many years after the death of Edmond Menard, the son of Pierre, the place was vacant, and abandoned to the elements, bats and owls. Weeds grew everywhere, the house was falling to pieces. An air of desolation reigned in house and grounds, the glory of the famous old mansion seemed to remain only in remembrance, but the house of the Menards, of whom we are always so delighted to read in romance and history, was to be restored. A few years ago the Lynn brothers bought the place, with several

⁸ Kane was not elected to the United States Senate until 1824, six years after Illinois became a state.

⁹ Lafayette visited Kaskaskia, but he was entertained at the homes of Gen. John Edgar and William Morrison.

hundred acres surrounding it. The house has been repaired but the original design and details of construction have been maintained, so it stands today as it stood so long ago. Mrs. Hopkins, sister of the Lynns, makes her home there. She was very kind and spared no pains to show us over the house, and we noted with pleasure many points of interest with which the house is filled. The large veranda, extending along the entire front, is the same with a few repairs, and the little old fashioned dormer windows project from the roof, looking out on a changing world, as they once looked out on the commons and the famous pecan grove of 1,500 trees, which so delighted the heart of Pierre Menard. The passage leading from the dining room to the kitchen still paved with flagstones, the hallway and dining room, the long drawing rooms, remain today as in the past. The wainscoted dining room, with the low ceiling, has been the scene of many a stately banquet.¹⁰

Proceeding on around this rocky roadway, we gradually ascend Garrison Hill. This high and commanding position was chosen as the first fortification of Kaskaskia, at the time of the war with the Chickasaws in 1736. On the breaking out of the French war in 1756, the fort was repaired and occupied by a French garrison. The name of Garrison Hill was then given to the bluff. In 1766 the structure was destroyed by fire. The English stationed themselves here in 1772, after the abandonment of Fort Chartres. They then fortified Garrison Hill and in honor of General Gage, bestowed upon it the appellation of Ft. Gage.¹¹ The English were in possession under Rocheblave until the army of George Rogers Clark came to Illinois from Virginia under the secret instruction of Gov. Patrick Henry for Clark to march to Kaskaskia. The capture of Ft. Gage and Kaskaskia on July

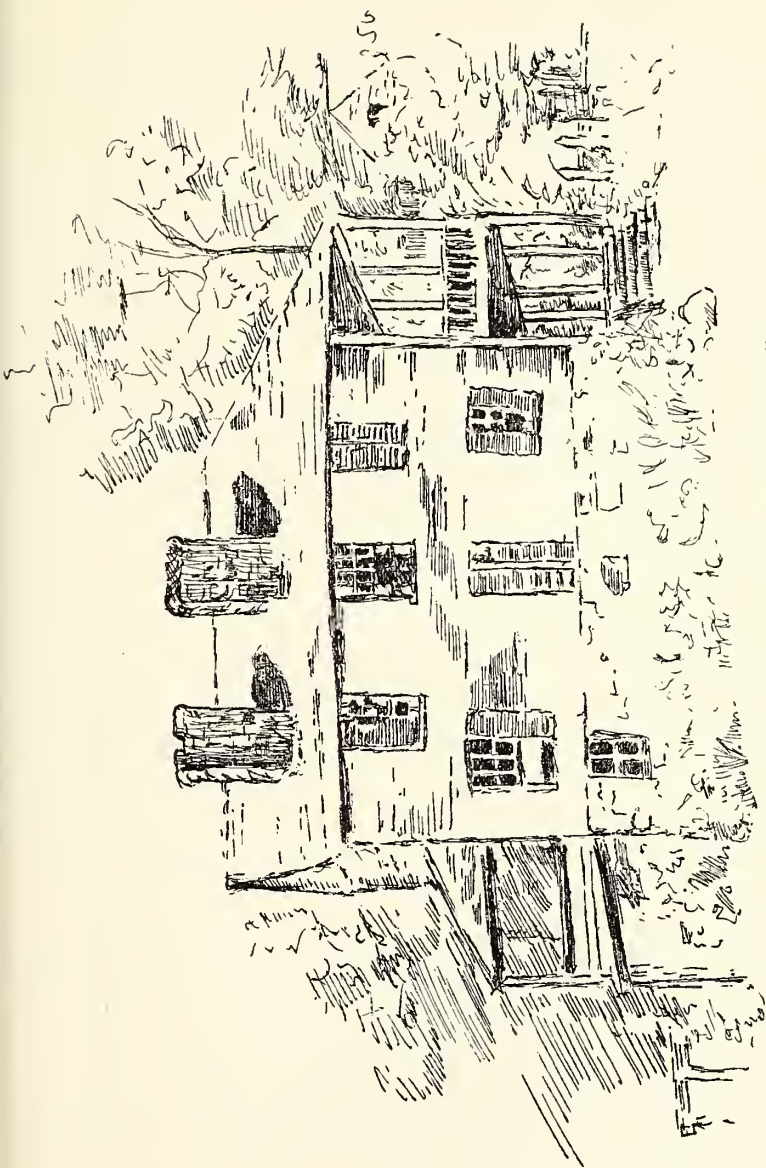
¹⁰ The State of Illinois acquired the Menard Home, the site of Fort Kaskaskia, and the Garrison Hill Cemetery in 1927.

¹¹ The English never occupied the ruined fortification on the bluff. Instead, they converted the old Jesuit house in the village into a fort and named it Fort Gage. See note 1 above.

4th, 1778, was one of the important events of the War of Independence.

The view from Ft. Gage was charming on that Indian summer afternoon, the blue, hazy atmosphere giving a purple tinge to the far off woods, and making a beautiful background for old Kaskaskia in the distance. Looking up and down on the east bank of the river is an irregular line of bluffs, stretching for miles, and covered with the most gorgeous foliage, the splendor of which is seldom seen outside Southern Illinois. The encroachment of the river a few years ago became so serious that the graves of the pioneer dead, buried in Kaskaskia, were in danger of being washed into the waters. A removal was made, and a fine cemetery was located on the bluff near by the ruins of Fort Gage, and a beautiful monument erected, which bears the following inscription "Those who sleep here were first buried at Kaskaskia, and afterward removed to this cemetery. They were the early pioneers of the great Mississippi Valley. They planted free institutions in the wilderness and were the founders of a great commonwealth. In memory of their sacrifices, Illinois gratefully erects this monument in 1892."

Leaving the silent graves of the dead, who in life were so prominent in our country's affairs, we descended the bluff by a narrow stony path almost perpendicular in places, once an Indian trail, which ended in the rear of the Menard House. It was growing late in the day, and, as we were anxious to once more walk the streets of the dear, old town, which has so many interesting associations, we hailed a boatman, and in a short time were over the river and sauntering up the principal street of the town. One can see in imagination the streets peopled with a motley crowd from the wild and picturesque red man to the ruffled and powdered chevaliers of old France. A few ancient houses and heaps of rubbish are all that now remains of the former metropolis. Most of the principal business streets, Governor Bond's mansion, and



AN OLD HOME AT KASKASKIA AS IT
APPEARED FIFTY YEARS AGO.

many buildings of historic interest, have been swallowed up by the relentless waters. Each year carries away part of the old town, and it is only a question of time when the last link which binds the present to the past will crumble and fall into the stream. Poor old Kaskaskia, you will soon be known only by tender recollection!

The old Pope house, the first brick house built west of the Allegheny Mountains, is still standing. The bricks to build this house were brought from Pittsburgh on a flatboat in 1792. The house has been used for various purposes in its time. The first state constitution was drafted in one of its rooms. Of late years, it has been used as a store and post office building. The river has almost reached it, and soon another landmark will be gone. Some of the houses are built of brick and plastered on the outside. Time has stained these plastered walls into wonderful beauty of color. The soft warm tones of yellow and brown make a pleasing study for a colorist.

In the church of the Immaculate Conception still swings the old church bell, a memento of the past. This bell was presented by the king of France, Louis XV, to one of the citizens of Kaskaskia, Louis Buyatte, to be given to the Church of Illinois. This Louis Buyatte was related to the nobility and was very zealous in behalf of the church. The old Kaskaskia bell, the Liberty Bell of the West, is ten years older than the old Liberty Bell, with which it shared honors at the World's Fair. This bell weighs about 650 pounds, and is ornamented on one side with groups of fleur-de-lis in relief and on the other with a cross and pedestal. The following inscription is cast in the bell: "*Pour l'église des Illinois Par les soins du Sr Dulieau L. B. M. Normand a la Rochele, 1741.*" This bell which has pealed forth its glad jubilee over weddings and christenings and its solemn tones for the death of our brave pioneers over one hundred and fifty years ago, still calls to matins and vespers the faithful few on the island. It

was the first to ring out the alarm cry at the time of the great flood of 1844.

The old church contains other things of interest besides the bell, among them are the chalice and paten, presented to the church by the King of France, the table on which was written the first constitution of the State of Illinois, and the signature of Col. Geo. Rogers Clark, 1778. The old parish records are kept here. Very interesting are the old books, with their entries in French, and stained with time, recording the births, marriages and deaths of the people. The oldest date is 1695. The convent, known as Our Lady of the Visitation, was destroyed by the flood of '44. This was a four story, brick building, costing \$30,000. Col. Menard, with his accustomed liberality, built this handsome structure.

Many places were destroyed at this time, and many families of note left Kaskaskia never to return. The splendid mansion of Col. Edgar, the home of Gov. Edwards and the Jesuit College have long since decayed. Only a pile of stone is left of the once-famous Kaskaskia Tavern, built in 1806, known also as the Chenue House, and Col. Sweet's Tavern. The Colonel was a Revolutionary soldier on the English side, but he afterward became a staunch supporter of the Colonies. The tavern had the reputation of excellent meals and the choicest French wines were to be had. Although only a two-story building, it was large and commodious. On the eve of the day Gen. Lafayette, who was on his triumphal tour through the United States, with his distinguished party, arrived at Kaskaskia, a great banquet was spread at the tavern for them. The day was one of great festivity. After a reception at Gen. Edgar's house, fifty of the guests repaired to the tavern, where a magnificent feast awaited them, the sumptuousness of which Lafayette remembered after his return to France. The large banquet hall was beautifully decorated. In one end of the hall was an arch made from the lovely wild flowers of Illinois, beneath which stood an old

English chair, captured in the war and now covered with wreaths of laurel. The chairs in which the guests were seated were decorated with buttercups and daisies. The guests were long at the banqueting table, where wine flowed like water. At last, when the party arose from the table, the Marquis, lifting a flowing bowl, stepped to the old English chair, and in a pointed little speech, drank the health of the people of Kaskaskia and the State of Illinois. Following this banquet was a grand ball at the stone mansion of William Morrison, in which all the aristocratic families of Kaskaskia and vicinity participated, such as the St. Vrain, the Bonds, Menards, Chenues, Edwards, Chouteaus, Jones, and many other noted families.

The fame of Col. Sweet's tavern lasted for many years. The Assembly Balls were danced here and it was the general meeting place for all classes to gather and distribute news. Its walls have been stained more than once by bloody tragedies. Then came the story that it was haunted. Queer noises were heard about the place. This marked its decline. Not long since it went crashing into the water, and another landmark was lost to Illinois. Not far from here was the building where the first newspaper in the state was published. Matthew Duncan, who came to Kaskaskia four years earlier than his brother Joseph, who afterward became governor of the state, was the founder.

We were sorry when the time came to leave this once-happy little city, where traditions of former gracious manners, still seem to cling to the people. Many stories and legends have been handed down from past generations who once lived in this sleepy French village. Even now the country folks in and around Kaskaskia tell these stories to their children. The sun was setting as we were rowed back over the river. The brilliant red sky reflected its splendor on all, turning the waters to a bright rose color, and clothing the slowly fading old town with a haze of glory. The beauty of

nature was everywhere. Suddenly the old bell rang out, calling the people to vespers today as it did in the days when those sleeping in their silent graves on the hill walked the streets of the town and were called to evening prayers. It seemed to us only to toll a requiem for the past glory of old Kaskaskia.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FIRST MURDER TRIAL

BY HARRY E. PRATT

THE MURDER

SUPPER over, the boarders filed out of the dining room of Spottswood's Hotel in Springfield and down the narrow hall to the lobby. There before the fireplace stood their host, James Spottswood, who listened eagerly to their compliments on the meal because the hotel was losing money. Faced with a heavy mortgage which he would be unable to meet, a year later he was to lose the hotel. Little did he know that the new proprietor would remodel the building and that, under its new name of Globe Tavern, it would go down in history as the home of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln.¹

After a few minutes of conversation, most of the boarders retired to their rooms or left the building. John S. Roberts and James F. Reed, railroad contractors, then engaged in building Illinois' first railroad, the Northern Cross, seated themselves in one corner to discuss their problems. Jacob M. Early, a physician and Methodist preacher, but also interested in the railroad, sat down in front of the fireplace and began reading the *Sangamo Journal*. Henry B. Truett, register of the Galena land office, after pacing up and down the small lobby for a few minutes, stepped into the hall to get a pistol from his great coat. On his return he took a seat near the fireplace, but suddenly arose, stepped in front of Early, and in a loud tone demanded if the latter was the author of a

¹ See Boyd B. Stutler, "Mr. Lincoln's Landlady," *The American Legion Magazine*, Vol. 36, no. 2 (Feb., 1944), 20, for an account of Mrs. James Beck, proprietress of the Globe Tavern.

certain resolution reflecting upon Truett's character, adopted at a recent Democratic convention in Peoria. Startled, Early did not reply, whereupon Truett again made the same demand, adding that he had been informed that the physician was the author. Early then asked Truett to name his informant, saying that he would avow or disavow the authorship as soon as Truett gave the name.

Truett replied by calling Early a "damned scoundrel" and in the course of further conversation added the terms "damned rascal," "damned hypocrite," and "damned coward." Reed attempted to make peace but Truett brushed him aside with a sweep of the pistol.

For the first time Early became apprehensive of danger. He jumped up, grabbed a chair, and held it in front of his body as a shield. Truett shifted his position to get a clear shot and both men slowly circled the room. When Early bumped into the settee, Truett fired. The ball passed through Early's body. He died three days later.

Truett took one look at his victim, dropped his pistol, and ran from the building. He was soon arrested and jailed. A corner's jury recommended that he be held without bail.

BACKGROUND

Back of the killing was a bitter political quarrel. Truett was the son-in-law of William L. May, who represented the Springfield district in Congress from December, 1834, to March, 1839. Through May's influence, in 1837, Truett was appointed register of the United States land office at Galena. By this time, however, May was out of favor with his own party because of his opposition to Van Buren's fiscal program. At the district convention, held at Peoria on November 29, 1837, the Democrats refused him renomination and selected Stephen A. Douglas in his place.

Then they added insult to injury by adopting a resolution declaring:

The recent appointment of H. B. Truett to the office of Register of the land office at Galena, was not in accordance with the wishes and feelings of the Democratic party, in this district, and . . . his standing is such as to require of us a recommendation to the President for his immediate removal.

May rushed to Truett's defense. In an open letter he declared that the President was asked to remove a man who had scarcely entered upon his duties and against whom not the slightest complaint had been brought. He asserted:

It is not pretended that he is not honest, that he is not, in point of standing, at least the equal of any one of the respectable delegates of the Convention. . . . But the five loaves and two small fishes are desired by certain followers of the camp. . . . Under the cloak of patriotism and of assembling to deliberate upon matters of public concern, they are found venting their impotent malice against an individual.²

Guiding these moves against him Truett saw, or thought he saw, the hand of Dr. Early, who was just as aggressive in politics as his own father-in-law. Early, then thirty-six years old, was a native Virginian who had settled in Sangamon County in 1831. He had served in the Black Hawk War—as regimental surgeon, as a private in the company of Captain Elijah Iles, and then as captain of a company which included Abraham Lincoln among its enlisted men. Although he never held a regular charge, he preached in numerous Methodist churches and was well known in central Illinois. Hot-headed and emotional, he had challenged Ninian W. Edwards to a duel in 1836—friends intervened and patched matters up—and only two months before his death he had engaged in a bitter altercation with Simeon Francis, editor of the *Sangamo Journal*.

THE TRIAL

News of the shooting of Dr. Early spread quickly over Springfield. Public opinion condemned the slayer, and the sheriff swore in several deputies. A diarist of the day wrote that the tragedy had "caused a great excitement and it is generally thought he will be hanged."

² May to the Editor of the *Globe*, Washington City, Dec. 18, 1837, reprinted in the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Jan. 6, 1838.

The grand jury on March 14, 1838, indicted Truett on a charge of murder. John D. Urquhart, the prosecuting attorney, was wanted as a state's witness, and Circuit Judge Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., appointed Urquhart's law partner, Stephen A. Douglas, then also register of the Springfield land office, to represent the state. Lincoln, John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker, and Cyrus Walker of Macomb, all Whigs, were engaged to defend Truett. They entered a plea of not guilty and moved for continuance to the July term because of the state of public opinion. The court granted the motion and directed that Truett be held without bail pending trial. Four state witnesses, James F. Reed, John S. Roberts, and James and Henry Spottswood, were required to post bond for appearance.

At the July term, Truett's attorneys entered a motion for continuance to the October term. Douglas opposed the continuance, whereupon the court ruled that the defendant file an amended affidavit setting out the materiality of a certain witness. This was done and the court heard the arguments of Douglas and Lincoln, Walker, Logan, and Baker. Judge Thomas then ordered the case continued to the next term. Five witnesses, Roberts, Reed, Urquhart, and the two physicians who had attended Early, Drs. Elias H. Merryman and William S. Wallace, were each put under \$1,000 bond.

The trial began on Tuesday, October 8, 1838, in the little store building then used by the Sangamon Circuit Court.³ Truett was pale and nervous from the effects of seven months in the county jail. Douglas's first move was to ask the court to amend the order of the last term to show that the list of the jury and the copy of the indictment had been furnished to the prisoner previous to his arraignment. The amendment was made and the selection of the jury began. From the first venire three were chosen. Five more venires, each of twenty

³ *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer*, Oct. 20, 1838, clipped from the *Springfield Illinois Republican*, gives the best account of the trial of Henry B. Truett.

men, were called, but only half of the jury had been chosen when court adjourned for the day.

On Wednesday morning the last two venirees yielded five more jurors, whereupon Judge Thomas instructed the sheriff to call four talesmen from the bystanders in the courtroom. Twelve times the sheriff summoned four men from the crowded courtroom before the last juror was chosen. Two hundred and fifteen veniremen in all were called. Twenty prospective jurors were challenged peremptorily and the remainder for cause. The twelfth member was chosen an hour after court opened on Thursday and the remainder of the day was given to the presentation of evidence. On Friday morning Douglas moved the court that David M. Woodson, a Whig attorney from Carrollton, newly appointed state's attorney for the First Judicial District, take the oath of office and take charge of the case.⁴

Douglas then assisted Woodson in presenting the evidence for the prosecution. They showed that Dr. Early was stouter and much taller than Truett, and maintained that Truett would not have brought on the quarrel had he not intended to shoot Early; that a clear case of murder was made out; that the killing itself implied malice; and that express malice was proved by the fact of his getting the pistol that night after seeing Early. They described the expression of Truett's countenance before speaking to Early, the determined manner in which he spoke to Early, and the abuse, the repeated insults, and the provoking epithets—spoken by a cowardly man to one his superior in size, strength, and courage. All went to prove that Truett was prepared to take vengeance. They argued further that Truett had the advantage of Early in having a cocked pistol which was seen by Early before he rose from his seat. They asserted that Early

⁴ Gov. Joseph Duncan appointed Woodson on Sept. 15, his duties to commence on Oct. 1, 1838. When Josephus Hewett resigned as prosecuting attorney on Sept. 13, Antrim Campbell, a practicing attorney for eight months in Springfield, was recommended by Lincoln, Logan, Baker, Stuart, Edwards, Treat, Cyrus Walker, and Hewett. Woodson was recommended by Judge Thomas C. Browne of the Illinois Supreme Court and by Moses O. Bledsoe, father of Albert T. Bledsoe, the Assistant Secretary of War of the Confederacy.

had a right to take a chair or anything else to protect himself from a man standing before him with a pistol, and calling him a damned scoundrel, a damned rascal, a damned hypocrite, and a damned coward.

Douglas further contended that Truett was the assailant from the beginning; that he sought the controversy; brought on the quarrel for the purpose of seeking an opportunity to take Early's life; that when Early lifted the chair before him to defend himself, Truett passed around so that he might safely shoot after a sham appearance of retreat; and that Early pressed towards Truett to prevent him from shooting rather than stand still and be shot down by the deliberate aim of his antagonist.

The defense led by former Judge Logan contended that Early had a deadly weapon, to wit, a chair, within striking distance of Truett; that Early could have immediately crushed Truett with the chair and that he had intended to do so, or that Truett supposed he intended to do so; that Truett was justified in making the demand about the authorship of the Peoria resolution; that his pride of character was much wounded by the resolution; that the frailties and passions of human nature should be somewhat indulged; and that he had suffered in prison for seven months.

The final plea for the defendant was made by Lincoln, an appeal characterized by his colleague, Logan, as "a short but strong and sensible speech."

At the close of the fifth day Judge Thomas gave the instructions to the jurors and they retired upstairs to the office of Stuart and Lincoln to deliberate. About three hours later they returned to the little courtroom, where the crowd, augmented by the rural Saturday evening visitors, packed every available space. The verdict was not guilty.⁵

⁵ Truett was removed from the Galena land office six months after the trial but continued active in Democratic politics. He served as mayor of Galena in 1847-1848, removing with his brother Miers to San Francisco early in the Fifties, where he dealt in "groceries, provisions and liquors," at 60 Front Street. He achieved notoriety when a quarrel with Austin Smith, son of Governor William Smith of Virginia, led to a duel on Oct. 19, 1855. Smith, an

The verdict was not unexpected, for Governor Ford wrote a decade later:

There was now and then an indictment for murder or larceny, and other felonies, but in all cases of murder arising from heat of blood or in a fight, it was impossible to convict. The juries were willing enough to convict an assassin, or one who murdered by taking a dishonorable advantage, but otherwise if there was a conflict and nothing unfair in it.

AFTERMATH

Four other incidents connect Lincoln with the principals in this sensational trial. A week after his indictment Truett executed a mortgage to Stuart and Lincoln on 320 acres of land to secure payment of two promissory notes, one to Stuart and one to Lincoln. In the deed record (Book M, 413) of Sangamon County, dated August 22, 1838, is this receipt, written by Stuart and signed by him and Lincoln: "We do hereby certify that the within mortgage has been satisfied by William L. May. [*Signed*] John T. Stuart. Abraham Lincoln." This was their fee for defending Truett.

Truett on March 12, 1838, gave Walker, Logan, and Baker a mortgage on 960 acres of land and half of three lots in Springfield to guarantee the payment of their \$1,000 fee. In the deed record (Book M, 398), where the mortgage is recorded, is this note by Logan: "Satisfied in full as far as I am concerned and I know the claims of the other grantees to have been paid in 1840. May 4, 1877."

A year after his plea to the jury had freed Truett, Lincoln was employed by James F. Reed and Peter Rickard, administrators of Dr. Early's estate, to write a petition asking permission of the Sangamon Circuit Court to sell the real estate of the deceased.⁶

The third incident arose when Thomas Rucker, an Iowa farmer, brought suit in the Sangamon Circuit Court in the

attorney, attached some of Truett's property to collect a note endorsed by Truett. Truett challenged Smith to a duel after a street altercation, and Colt revolvers at ten paces were used. Truett escaped injury but Smith was shot through the leg above the knee. *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, Oct. 19, 20, 1855.

⁶ Herndon and Weik MSS (Library of Congress). The Illinois State Historical Library has microfilm copies of this collection.

spring of 1840 against the executor and heirs of Dr. Early to recover title to a farm which Rucker claimed belonged to him, although the title was in Early's name at the time of his death. The court appointed Lincoln guardian *ad litem* for the infant sons of Early—George Noah and Jacob Martin Early. This appointment was made at the request of Logan, attorney for Rucker.

Lincoln was present at the taking of the deposition, on July 29, 1840, of Peter Rickard, the father-in-law of Dr. Early. Rickard testified that Rucker, a neighbor of Early's, had announced his intention of moving to Iowa, whereupon his neighbors, thinking he was in desperate circumstances, refused to make a fair offer for the farm. Rather than sacrifice the property Rucker deeded it to Dr. Early to be sold when a fair price was offered. Early, on his deathbed, had requested Rickard to have the property deeded back to Rucker. When the case of *Rucker v. Heirs of Early* was heard, Lincoln agreed that the deposition should be put in evidence. The court appointed Rickard commissioner to deed the farm back to Rucker, and this was done.

Lincoln was the attorney for Catherine Early, widow of Dr. Jacob M. Early, in a chancery suit against James M. Bradford and Clement M. Polk. In her petition for dower, filed in the Sangamon Circuit Court on March 5, 1847, Lincoln stated that there was a valuable sawmill on the property at the time of Dr. Early's death, but that the defendant's gristmill, erected above the sawmill, was taking all the water, thus rendering the latter valueless.⁷

⁷ Herndon and Weik MSS.

ACROSS THE PRAIRIE

A Chapter of Early Chicago History

BY MARY YOUNG GUEROULT

THE legend that America was a land of promise, where there were "dollars found in the streets," reached the ears of François and Rosalie Chapronne, newlyweds, in Rosierre, France—François of the French landed gentry, whose father fought in the Napoleonic Wars, Rosalie fresh from the Convent School of the Sacred Heart.

In 1833, after a three months' voyage in a sailing vessel, they landed in New York State and settled in Cape Vincent, on the St. Lawrence River. This village is a port of entry of Jefferson County, New York. Here they remained for two years. But the spirit of adventure impelled them to move on, so again they went "West." After thirty days by boat on the Great Lakes, they arrived at Chicago in 1835. While seeking a location they stored their meager possessions in the lighthouse; these consisted of a bed, blankets, a stove, and copper cooking utensils. Today their descendants treasure seven pairs of solid brass spoons and forks, of the size for serving.

After months of searching, they settled in what was then known as Grosse Point (now the suburb of Wilmette), where Indians roamed the surrounding wilderness. Their first efforts were directed to the clearing of the land, the digging of a well, and the building of a log house. During this time they lived in a covered wagon.

Wilmette was named for the French Canadian trader, Antoine Ouilmette, a north shore owner before 1800. Through his half-breed Indian wife, he possessed land that

became known as the Ouilmette reservation. He was one of Chicago's richest taxpayers. According to stories from early Chicagoans, Ouilmette and his half-breed Indian children were unwelcome though constant visitors in the home of John Kinzie, known in history as the father of Chicago. It was Kinzie who owned the first substantial home of a white settler. Ouilmette was a neighbor of the Chapronnes and often protected them from the Indians.

The countryside offered the principal source of food supply. Rosalie often told her grandchildren that quail and prairie chicken were so plentiful that they could be felled with a stick; François, on occasion, went forth to hunt and brought home a deer. In the fields and woods, Rosalie gathered herbs which she brewed into tea—or made into poultices.

Eagerly the young couple endeavored to farm the land, but they were so harassed by the Indians that when François was absent his young wife had to stand in the open doorway, dressed in her husband's clothes, with shotgun in hand. Otherwise the Indians would steal their belongings. The copper and brass cooking utensils and money were what they wanted most.

François and Rosalie soon gave up the struggle, buried their household belongings, and returned to Chicago in 1836. They found lodgings at the corner of Van Buren and Canal streets, where the new post office stands today. Of the union of François and Rosalie, three daughters and a son were born—Eugénie, Celestine, Zoé, and Vincent.

About 1841 the family bought four acres for \$400 at Elston Road and what is now Division Street, where they made their new home. Their neighbors were the Clybourn family, for whom Clybourn Avenue was named.

Some years later, Rosalie contracted to purchase the property at the southwest corner of Madison and Clark streets, but when the deal was ready to be consummated,

the owner of a \$4,000 first mortgage would not allow its payment prior to the due date. This meant to Rosalie that she would have a partner in ownership. She had lived through three or four financial crashes, during which banks had failed, people had lost their savings, and those who had mortgages on their property lost it through foreclosure. Therefore, she refused to buy this land. The property today has been appraised at \$200 a square foot. It is improved with a twenty-three story building.

It is interesting to note that the original four acres which François and Rosalie bought for \$400 in 1841 were sold in 1902 for \$95,000 by the Chapronne heirs to the Peoples Gas Light and Coke Company.

I quote the listing of the Chapronne address from the first Chicago directory, 1844: "Chapronne, Francis, Gardner, res North Branch, mile out."

In the early Forties the digging of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was proceeding. At that time Chicago was lowland, several feet below present level. Unhealthful conditions caused a fever epidemic, which took the lives of many citizens, including François Chapronne. He was buried in what is now Lincoln Park. Some years later, when this section was chosen for a site to be used as a park, the graves of the early settlers were removed to the city's outskirts. At this time the body of François, among others, was lost.

After his death, François' widow, Rosalie, continued in the farm and gardening business with considerable success. In 1847 she purchased another tract of land on the West Side close to an old-time inn, a landmark known as "The Bull's Head" in the vicinity of Madison Street and Ogden Avenue.

Rosalie had been sending to her homeland in France for the earliest and finest flower and vegetable seeds, thus establishing a discriminating clientele in a rapidly growing city of hotel owners and wholesale buyers. In today's vernacular, one might say she "had the jump on the market."

Though less lucrative than her vegetables, Rosalie's flowers were lovely and plentiful. By some blessed intuition she had the skill to make them grow. She had at her fingertips the names of countless species. She loved her zinnias, her portulacas, her daffodils, her marigolds, and her bachelor's-buttons, tending them with almost motherly care, improvising little French songs as she sang while she dug among them. Her children used to say that she caressed her pansies to sleep at evening time. Her rose vines and bushes were the pride of the countryside; her garden delighted lovers of beauty for miles around. Among the early settlers, the West Side was known as the Widow Chapronne's back yard, and some went so far as to declare that her flowers gave Chicago the name "Garden City."

In a sense, Rosalie's flowers took the place of people. Having only a limited use of the English language, she developed a reserve with her neighbors; yet she welcomed them with hospitality that became proverbial, notwithstanding French thrift. Her resentment of the theft of her flowers and vegetables by the children of immigrants earned her the nickname, "Granny Grumpy."

As the city expanded, Rosalie withdrew from farming and subdivided her land into residential and business property, which gradually she improved with homes and stores.

Rosalie's only son, Vincent, died in 1867, and with him died the name of Chapronne. However, descendants of Rosalie's three daughters are still living in Chicago. Eugénie married Paul Populorum, French leather manufacturer, one of the first in Chicago. He introduced into this section the process of tanning leather by chemicals. There is but one living descendant of this family. She is Miss Estello Populorum, a former Chicago school teacher.

Another daughter, Celestine Chapronne, married Louis Salles, a French restaurateur, known among connoisseurs of fine food and wines. There are two living descendants of the

Salles family—Rosalie Salles Richardson and Zoé Keane More.

The old French Church of Notre Dame, then located at Halsted and Adams streets, was the scene of the meeting and marriage, in 1867, of Zoé Chapronne, youngest daughter of François and Rosalie, to Théophile Edward Guérout, handsome young graduate of a French Jesuit University. He had come to America with his parents who were seeking another son, a missionary, lost in the wilds.

Théophile was a Civil War veteran and writer, who founded, owned, and edited the first French paper in Illinois, called *L'Amérique*. The only existing copy of *L'Amérique* has been presented to the Newberry Library, Chicago. Théophile unofficially represented the French people here, greeting and lavishly entertaining such visiting French and Italian celebrities as Rhea and Patti. He was as dashing as the Chapronnes were conservative.

A daughter, Eugénie, was born to Théophile and Zoé Guérout in 1871—the year of the Chicago fire. This conflagration did not touch the family home at Madison and Wood streets; the Guérout family was unaware of it until morning. It burned out the office and complete equipment of *L'Amérique*, at what was then 162 Madison Street, close to the Loop. After this disaster, Théophile Guérout devoted himself to writing for magazines and newspapers. He died in 1885.

Rosalie Chapronne amused her grandchildren with stories concerning her pioneer experience; how she used to walk across the Chicago River by stepping on stones “as large as boulders.” Another tale was about the Indians—they came to Chicago yearly to collect payment for land they sold to the United States Government. They brought their families and pitched tents, always returning to their homes penniless, having spent their money on liquor before leaving. They would buy calico, intending to present it to

their squaws, but would finally trade the calico for whiskey.

There were only three bridges across the river in those early days. There was a drawbridge at Dearborn Street, and two log foot bridges, one to Wolf Point where the north and south branches of the river met, and one from Wolf Point across the North Branch. Rosalie related many anecdotes of the Beaubien family, early Chicago settlers. Mark Beaubien operated a hotel near the present corner of Market and Lake streets. He also ran a ferry across the south branch of the river.

A son, Maurice Edward, was born to Théophile and Zoé Guérault in 1879. He is living in Chicago with his family, and has been on LaSalle Street for thirty-five years. His mother, Zoé, died in 1923, aged eighty-three years, and his sister, Eugénie, in 1943. He has a son, Edward, who also has a son Edward, the latter of the fifth generation of the Guérault family in Chicago—a direct male descendant of this pioneer couple, François and Rosalie Chapronne.

The following facts show that America is truly the great melting pot. The wife of Maurice Edward Guérault is of German and Irish parentage. Their oldest daughter is married to a man of Italian descent. The husband of the second daughter has an Irish background. The husband of the third daughter is of Swedish ancestry. The wife of their son was of English lineage; her forebears fought in the Revolutionary War. She died in October, 1943. Only in America could this story be written.

EARLY HOTELS OF VERMILION COUNTY

A Study in Contrasts

BY CLINT CLAY TILTON

AFTER a visit to our own comfortable and hospitable Hotel Wolford, with its homelike suites and deep upholstered chairs, it is hard to believe the written records of the pioneer hotels—or taverns, as they were then known—or give credence to the stories of the grandmothers of yesteryear, when the hardy settlers were battling with the tangle of the wild wood and the rank growth of the prairies. Again is the truth to be doubted when one visualizes the scenes of the evenings in the “offices” of the taverns, where rough citizenry foregathered during court week to discuss affairs of state and while away the hours with copious swigs at the bottle of cheer—a crude product of the early distiller. Here sat men on the empty kegs and the home-made chairs while leaders led the discussion. It was a motley crowd, clad in homespun or poorer, their feet encased in the moccasin of the Indian, their coonskin caps piled in the corner and the saddle bags hanging from pegs on the walls. Here they held forth without a single feminine touch, for, be it known, those were the dear dead days when the woman’s place was in her cabin while the dominant male made every decision and gave toleration only so long as she was content to slave and drudge and live the drab life that custom decreed.

Compare this scene, if you can, with the hotel life of today, when a peep into the Vermilion Room, with its easy chairs, its sparkling glassware and spotless linen, or the cosy Rendezvous down in the Grier-Lincoln Hotel, a modern

building erected almost on the site of the old McCormick House, where Lincoln, Davis, and the other circuit riders made merry and found welcome cheer in the days when Danville was young, reveals a picture of Babylonian festivity.

Today is a far cry from 1824, when Henry Wooden came from the Atlantic shore and built his cabin at the Old Salt Works, where he combined his skill as a cooper with that of boardinghouse keeper. Here he offered a haven of food and shelter to the steady boarder or the transient guest, the former getting a special rate of \$1.50 per week. A place to be avoided—it would be called a "dump" today—but in truth it was the forerunner of the hostelrys that vie for the patronage of those who seek the comforts of a home without the responsibility of its management or are forced to seek temporary entertainment.

A year later and the Salt Works was taking on airs. Wooden's place no longer satisfied. John Vance, who operated the Works, felt the civic urge and erected the Vance Tavern. It was more pretentious, consisting of three log rooms, with an attic over all, reached by a ladder in the center room. Also there was a lean-to where the cook presided. Busy with his salt making, Vance turned the management over to James Kelley, a nephew. It was well that he did, for troubles came on apace. Two years later and Vermilion had become a county in the state of Illinois. That meant that the LAW was functioning. After the commissioners were selected Vance was informed that he not only had to pay the county for the privilege of conducting a tavern, but that the officers of the law would regulate his prices. The board decreed that for a pint or half-pint of whiskey he must charge 12 1/2 cents, for a quart, 25 cents; for feeding one horse, 6 1/4 cents; for lodging, 6 1/4 cents; for a meal of victuals, 18 3/4 cents; for a horse at corn and hay overnight, 18 3/4 cents. A year later "one Whitcomb appeared before the Commissioners and pointed out that if

one pint of whisky was worth 12 1/2 cents, then a half-pint should be sold for 6 1/4 cents." The Commissioners agreed, and further to stimulate business in the tavern reduced the price of a quart to 18 3/4 cents. Major Vance, in 1833, together with Gurdon Hubbard and Senator Samuel McRoberts, purchased the land from the state and leased the Works to Isaac Wolf. Vance then retired to a farm north of the present town of Oakwood. The tavern was presented to his nephew, Kelley, who removed it to a point on the old Urbana road, a mile south of St. Joseph, where it became the dinner stop for the circuit riders on their trip from the Campaign seat of justice to Danville for the holding of court. It is mentioned in many of the books that deal with the story of Abraham Lincoln. This tavern was torn down eighty-five years ago.

Eighteen hundred and twenty-six—and the Works had a business rival. Butler's Point—the home of the first dirt farmer—was growing. For two years the Works and the Point had been sharing the school of Hiram Tichnor, which had been conducted midway between the two neighborhoods, but now came the news that the Buckhorn Tavern had been opened and was ready to furnish entertainment for the transient guest. It continued to offer hospitality until 1856, when, with the coming of the Wabash Railroad, Catlin—a mile east of the Point—was made the station. Captain W. R. Timmons moved his trading post to the new town. Dr. L. Trabou, who was seeking a new location, finally chose Danville, when the latter became a town and the seat of justice of Vermilion County. Here his fellow townsman, Amos Williams, had also located alongside Dan Beckwith's trading post on the Hill.

A year later—1827—and Danville was a town. Scarcely had the sale of town lots ended when Samuel Gilbert began the erection of the first tavern. It stood near the site of the present monument at the foot of Main Street. It was of logs,

consisting of two rooms, each eighteen feet square, with a gallery running down the center. It was finished early in June, 1827, and suspended from the limb of a giant oak tree nearby hung the sign, "Gilbert's Tavern." Thus mine host became Danville's first advertiser. As late as the early Seventies the sign was still swinging to the breezes, long after the building had disappeared—a monument to the man who had shown his faith in Danville. It is a matter of record that at one time during its operation it housed Judge J. O. Wattles, on one of his court-holding trips. There were no trials, and the Judge, in order that the docket might not be bare, bought a pint of whiskey from the landlord, then fined him but later remitted the penalty, on the charge that the whiskey was not of good quality. Even in the pioneer days it would seem that poor accommodations could not rob a jurist of his sense of humor.

Shortly after the opening of the tavern, mine host started operating a ferry across the Vermilion for the accommodation of prospective guests. It was placed so that the landing brought the traveler by the hostelry. Here again the owner felt the strong arm of the law. He must pay a license fee and the commissioners again showed their power. They set the prices he might ask for his services. The records show that legal charges were as follows: for crossing man and horse, 12 1/2 cents; wagon and horse, 18 3/4 cents; wagon and two horses or oxen, 25 cents. Persons going to the mill or Salt Works were charged half price.

It was in 1833 that the government established a land office in Danville, with Samuel McRoberts, afterwards United States senator, in charge. The town was growing and landbuyers from the East were demanding bigger and better sleeping rooms than the attic of the Gilbert Tavern afforded. The year before, mine host Gilbert found competition when his brother, Othiel, began the erection of what was later to become the Pennsylvania House. It was situated on the site

of the present Kresge 25-cent store, and under three owners expanded into a two-story frame building, with a large office, which later housed the post office when Elder Enoch Kingsbury secured the job of handling the mail after his friend Abraham Lincoln became President. It also had a ballroom and a "grocery." A bell atop a pole in front summoned all and sundry at meal time.

The coming of the land office, with the added travel it caused, not alone of the land-seekers but also of an occasional wandering troupe of entertainers or a lecturer, gave Jesse Gilbert a dream of future profits, and the erection of what was later to be known in the story of Lincoln as the McCormick House began. Situated just west of the present Grier-Lincoln Hotel, it flourished under the management of William McCormick until the dark days of the War Between the States. Then R. A. Martin became the host until the early Eighties, when the kerosene lamps that had replaced the candles of a decade before were allowed to burn out, and the cigar case was emptied. At that time the chair which had been built especially to hold the bulk of 325-pound Judge David Davis when he honored the hostelry with his presence, and the rope-tied beds with their straw ticks, the rag carpets, the pots and kettles and other paraphernalia that had spelled luxury to the traveler of twoscore years before, became the property of William Unger, whose wooden horse-collar factory across the street had been forced out of business by the competition of the leather dealer. The end was tragic. Under its spreading wooden awning men later of national renown had found shelter while exchanging opinions; at its hitchrack had stood the steeds of noted travelers; and within its walls had been a haven for famous people of every walk of life. Here many times Lincoln had shared the parlor with Judge Davis; Stephen A. Douglas and his beautiful wife had been guests in 1858; while in 1853 the Great Barnum, with Tom Thumb and the other members of his Congress of Won-

ders, had tarried for a night. Long John Wentworth of Chicago, an early congressman, had been a welcome visitor. Here too had been the loafing place for Ward Hill Lamon, Dr. William Fithian, Amos Williams, Oliver Davis, "Chick-amauga Jim" Kilpatrick, and others who are so closely identified with the story of Danville in the making. Ghosts of former days prowled the stairs for four years—and then the wreckers. A new day was dawning.

In 1835 Dr. J. M. Peck visited the city while getting information for his forthcoming *Gazetteer of Illinois*, and noted that the town had "three taverns and 700 inhabitants."

It was not until 1849 that the three—the Gilbert, McCormick, and Pennsylvania—had competition except from the boarding houses which were beginning to cater to the regulars. The latter served specially big dinners to the visiting farmers who resented the new custom of the taverns of serving personal orders on their plates. They wanted the home fashion of everything on the table in platters and "all you can eat for two bits." In the year of the California gold rush O. Gilbert again entered the field and built the National Hotel, a frame building north of the courthouse on Vermilion Street. A year later he leased the building to Charles W. Bailey, who advertised in the *Danville Weekly Citizen* of July 24, 1850: "While due attention shall be given to the wants of his guests, his Stables will not be neglected. It will be his aim always to keep attentive and obliging hostlers and no pains will be spared to render the stay of his friends agreeable."

In the year 1849 L. R. Noel also came to town and established the Union Hotel on East Main Street. Here, too, was the headquarters of the East and West Stage Line. It was six years before the coming of the Great Western Railroad put it out of business.

The wave of settlers really began in the Forties and taverns began to spring up over the county. It was in 1852

that the Bicknell Tavern, north of the present town of Rossville, made its bid for the patronage of the travelers along the old Hubbard Trace between Chicago and this city. In 1860 it was taken over by Thomas Owens and it catered to guests for many years, until the building up of Rossville. In 1853 Frederick Tarrent, late from England, built and opened the Eagle House in Catlin. Soon he had competition from the Sherman House, operated by Fleming Sherman for many years. At that time Catlin offered possibilities that induced Albert Heath to locate there and start what was to be the most ambitious edifice in the county. After getting the building enclosed, lack of funds stopped construction and he left town suddenly. A fine saddle horse also disappeared at the same time. The building was three stories high. The plans called for four business rooms on the ground floor, the hotel proper on the second, while the upper story was to be a grand ballroom. In the chronicles of Catlin it became known as "Heath's Folly." Later the citizens purchased it and gave it to a man named Jenkins, who conducted a flour mill within its walls.

The year 1856 saw the opening of two hotels in Georgetown, the Wheeler House by A. Simpson and the Vermilion Hotel by Charles Twyford. Four years later Jacob Yapp erected and began operation of a more pretentious hostelry, known as the Walnut Hill Hotel.

In 1864 Rossville had grown to a point where travelers demanded accommodations. This need was met by W. J. Henderson, who for many years served such of the public as traveled his way.

In Danville the year 1860 witnessed the opening of the Danville Hotel on Vermilion Street, by John W. Gerrard. In 1867 the St. James Hotel, at the corner of Main and Jackson streets, began bidding for business and for a few years was a favorite stopping place of the fastidious. In 1870 A. Sieferman opened the Tremont at the corner of Main Street

and Washington Avenue, and William Farmer began the erection of what later was known as the Aetna, recently deceased. The Sherman House, built just east of the railroad on Main Street, also was opened at that time by Radford & Walker, and for a time enjoyed great popularity. Later it fell on evil days and there was general relief when it was consumed by fire. The competition of this year was too much for the old Pennsylvania, then under the management of Eli Myers, and after a final funeral dirge its doors were closed, the old dinner bell on the pole was taken down, and the wreckers stepped in. In 1874 M. Hormick built the Hesse House, a four-story brick hostelry, now known as the Saratoga, located on South Hazel Street. The top floor was intended for a ballroom, but it was leased to the local militia company as an armory. The old Arlington was erected on the site of the present Grier-Lincoln in 1875, but in anticipation of the hundredth anniversary of national independence, it was rechristened the Centennial. A year later, however, it was leased to the late John White, who renamed it the Arlington. Under his management it flourished as the leading hotel until the opening of the Plaza, when it finally degenerated into a cheap rooming house. Under Mr. White it was the first to install electric lights and it housed the first elevator in the city. Though it has now disappeared, its memory still lingers. It was the connecting link in the transition of Danville from a town of wooden hitchracks, plank awnings, and horse-drawn busses into the city of today.

The first Danville directory, printed in 1874, lists the following hotels: the Aetna, Galt, Illinois, Junction, McCormick, Pennsylvania, Sherman, and St. James.

The story of the tavern is but the story of progress in all lines. The comfort of the hostelries of today has but kept step with business and living conditions in the whole scheme of life and, too, has given woman her place in the sun—and at the bars in the taverns if she wants to demand her rights.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE CORNERSTONE MYSTERY SOLVED

After almost three-quarters of a century of underground existence, the original cornerstone of the Illinois State House has come to light. Workmen rebuilding the front steps of the State House unearthed it on July 18 in the exact location indicated by an 1870 newspaper. Thus a mystery which has puzzled citizens of Illinois for half a century, and given rise to all sorts of wild speculations, was solved.

The cornerstone was laid on October 5, 1868, with impressive ceremonies. Only fifty years had passed since the State of Illinois had been admitted to the Union, yet in that time it had grown from a frontier commonwealth, largely uninhabited, to one of the great states of the nation. Of this growth the new State House was the accepted symbol. No wonder that Springfield was crowded with a throng exceeded in size only by that which had attended the greatest of the Lincoln campaign rallies.

The stone itself was the object of much interest. Here is a description from the *Illinois State Journal* of October 5, 1868:

THE "CORNER STONE."—The work of getting out the corner stone was completed on Saturday night. It is a very handsome specimen of lime stone from the Hamilton quarry. It is eight feet, three inches long, four feet wide and three feet high. The outer surface has a sunken pannel. In one side of this are cut the names of the State House Commissioners; on the other the names of the State officers; and in the center the names of the architect and the superintendent of the building. On the upper side of the pannel are the words—"Directed [*Erected*] under an act of the General Assembly, approved Feb. 25, 1867." On the lower side of the pannel are cut the words—"Laid by the Masonic Fraternity, A. D. 1868, A. L. 5868, G. R. Gorin, G. M." The stone was chiseled by Messrs. D. M. Houghten, W. H. Houlen and T. Driscoll, and reflects great credit upon them as superior workmen.

But within the memory of man, no one has been able to find a stone answering this description. The popular mind, however, abhors a vacuum with nature's own intensity, so a tale accounting for the absence of the stone was passed from man to man until it was believed by all except a few tough-minded skeptics. The Masons, it seems, became incensed at the fact that it bore the name of Robert G. Ingersoll, the state's attorney general and already well known as an agnostic. So one dark night they

gathered in force. The next morning, and ever afterward, the stone was nowhere to be seen. (Few gave a thought to the fact that the Grand Lodge of Illinois had been willing enough to lay the cornerstone even though it did have Ingersoll's name on it, and to the further fact that it weighed several tons.)

A few years ago a member of the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library was leafing through a file of the *Illinois State Journal*. There, in the issue for November 23, 1870, this paragraph caught his eye:

Our readers will remember that the corner-stone of the building was laid last fall¹ with appropriate ceremonies by the Masonic Order. That stone was obtained, we believe, from the Hamilton quarries, and was immense in its proportions; but it worked very poorly, and owing to the splits and cracks which opened through it, it was found to be unworthy to be retained or built upon. Accordingly, it was, a few days ago, removed from the wall and buried in the ground in front of the corner; and on yesterday a new corner-stone was placed in position. No ceremonies whatever took place on the occasion, the only persons present being Col. Beveridge, one of the Commissioners, the contractors, and a few curious citizens. The tin box containing coins, papers, etc., which had been deposited with the former stone, was securely sunk in the new one, while various additional contributions were made by those present.

The new corner-stone is from the Joliet quarries, and is very beautifully chiselled. The panel, which is in relief, is the segment of a circle, with the chord for the base. No inscription has yet been placed upon it, but whether the Commissioners intend having this done, or to leave the matter with the General Assembly, we are not advised.

That little article offered a prosaic explanation of the great corner-stone mystery. Its accuracy was attested by the quick discovery of the stone which had replaced the original—on the corner at the north end of the east portico. Nevertheless, many still preferred to believe the lurid story of Masonic retribution, and when one or two attempts to locate the original stone failed, their faith was confirmed.

Then, on July 18, the original stone was found about three feet underground and perhaps ten feet in front of the new cornerstone—just where workmen with a calcareous white elephant on their hands would have put it. It was split rather badly, as the contemporary account in the *Illinois State Journal* had stated, and it was not defaced, as the Masonic myth had held. By all rules of historical evidence, the simple, factual explanation accounts adequately for its long disappearance.

If the stone is not too badly damaged, Secretary of State Richard Yates Rowe plans to place it on the State House lawn where it will be a modest monument to those whose names it bears.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

PAUL M. ANGLE

¹ "Last fall" is an error. The cornerstone was laid on October 5, 1868.

THE NAMING OF JOLIET

Following the publication of *The Chicago* the author, Harry Hansen, reported in his column in the *Chicago Tribune* book section a number of letters on the original name of "Juliet" for our city. In his latest note, dated April 16, 1944, he quoted a map, dated 1790, and a discussion in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, March, 1944, as settling the argument.

Locally we are partial to a local historian, George H. Woodruff, known in his time as "Long George." This man arrived here in 1834, the year in which James B. Campbell laid out the town. We quote from lectures delivered by him before the local historical society in 1873 and 1874 and published under the title, *Forty Years Ago! A Contribution to the Early History of Joliet and Will County*, in 1874: "Campbell named his town Juliet, being more desirous to perpetuate the name of his daughter than that of the French explorer, and by this name our city was known until changed by act of the legislature in 1845" (p. 24).

Woodruff also collaborated on a *History of Will County, Illinois*, published by William Le Baron, Jr., & Co., Chicago, in 1878. With reference to the change of name of the city from Juliet to Joliet, he says in this volume: "President Van Buren and his Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Paulding, while on a tour through the West, stopped at 'Juliet,' and, noticing the difference in the name of the city and of Joliet Mound, urged the people to have the former changed to correspond with the latter, which was done. . . by act of the Legislature, and approved February 26, 1845" (p. 380).

"LOUIS JOLLIET."

JOLIET, ILL.

THE EARLY SETTLERS: A REALISTIC PICTURE

In the Sixties and Seventies of the last century, when old settlers recalled the days of their youth, they usually described a society that had many of the earmarks of Paradise. All men were honest, loyal, and God-fearing; their wives were pure, obedient, and self-sacrificing. Neighborliness was such a universal attribute that no one considered it to be virtue, and crime was almost unknown. True, there was fever and ague, but the newcomer soon got accustomed to that; and if the diet was limited—well, never since then had food been as tasty as the mush and milk of the good old days.

It is refreshing, therefore, to come across a picture of frontier society uncolored by old men's memories. Such a picture is provided by the fol-

lowing letter, recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. The writer, Benjamin Willis, was of distinguished Massachusetts ancestry, a graduate of Brown University, and an attorney at law. Artemas Hale, to whom the letter was addressed, was a manufacturer of cotton gins in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and, in 1834, a member of the state senate.

QUINCY, ADAMS CO. ILLS
Dec. 26th 1834

Dear Sir:

. . . . Our society here appears to be in a state of fermentation; and it is hoped the scum and froth may soon get worked off, and leave us the pure spirit of good order and quiet. Two murders have been committed, and a third person is now in the very jaws of death from a blow by a club which he received on the head. One of the murders occurred in a neighbouring county, and the other a short distance from this place. In both instances it was done by shooting, and the one committed near us was aggravated by beating and cutting the body—the fellow has had his trial, and was executed just out of Town on the 22d inst. I am much pleased to see the like go on, so long as it is confined as now, to that class whose citizenship can very well be dispensed with; and who would make such excellent subjects for his Majesty of Darkness, that it seems a pity to detain them from his kingdom. We have still on hand several very proper persons to be operated upon as above. When they are "used up" we shall have a peaceable community.

I have just been reading Gov. Dunklin's¹ Message to the Legislature of our sister on the other side of the River. It is a kind of milk-and-water production. He begins by cursing the Cholera; then comes the state of their finances, on which subject he gives us rather more than a newspaper column. He glances at the Penitentiary, education, and the Public lands, tells how many and what States have sent him their Maps, Reports &c. and comes plump up against the United States' Bank; here he lingers awhile, and claps the "*General*." He then whines to the end of his Message, because three of his sisters, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have got a Cumberland Road, and large slices of Public Lands, while poor Missouri has scarcely had a taste of the appropriations. The politics of our own State are so degraded, that I have taken no part in them, and have not voted at the elections except once, and that was for a Justice of the Peace; and should not then, but there was a whiskey candidate, and an Anti-Whiskey candidate—the whiskey-boys beat us. I presume the State will go for the next Presidential candidate who shall have Genl. Jackson's ear-mark, though there is a strong party in favour of the man who didn't kill Tecumseh.² Our leading men are tinged with Van Burenism. Mr. Kane who received such a severe lashing from the Senator from Maryland

¹ Daniel Dunklin, governor of Missouri, 1832-1836.

² Richard M. Johnson, who became vice-president in Van Buren's administration. His supporters claimed that he killed Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames, his opponents denied it.

in Congress last winter, is at the head of Van Burenism.³ Our Legislature is in session, and there is one Senator to elect. The prospect now is that Genl. Robinson will be elected.⁴ He is as servile a collar-man as the Kitchen Cabinet can desire. As for our Representatives in Congress, Mr. Casey is a man of decent abilities; the other two are less than ordinary. Gov. Reynolds one of them who takes the place of Duncan, is a complete granny, but a man of good intentions, and will do very nearly what is right unless he should be influenced by Kane or some other Van Buren spirit.⁵ I think if let alone, he would not oppose a re-charter of the U. S. Bank; but I can't tell into what shape they'll twist him after he gets to Washington. Mr. Casey is a Methodist minister, and a man of considerable talents. He was formerly our Lieut. Govr. I saw him while presiding over the Senate of this State, and he did it with great dignity and correctness.⁶ But the Bank will probably receive no favour from him. Lastly, I come to Wm. L. May, who represents the District in which I reside: and a greater compound of meanness and stupidity was never mingled.⁷ His opponent at the election was Mr. Mills of Galena, formerly of Massachusetts. But the low and vile acts resorted to by May procured his election. May was accused of having been guilty of Burglary a few years since. This charge was published in a newspaper. He immediately wrote to some of his friends who were acquainted with the transaction, and published a reply from one of them, which stated that at the time of the trial, it was the general impression that he (May) did not enter the house in the night time with a design to commit murder, but for the sake of an illicit intercourse with some female there. This, Mr. May published as his defence, and called upon the people to overlook the follies of his youth! (Mr. May being at the time when it occurred between thirty and forty years of age, and having a family too.) I suppose it is hardly necessary for me to add that he is a violent Van Buren man. Thus, you perceive there is little to hope for from our State—Indiana is about ditto. Ohio has done pretty well for her, at the last election. *Old Kanetuck* is sound. And now and then we hear a growl from the lion's own den, Tennessee, which seems to imply that they mean to have a voice in this President-making affair, and not let the General quietly appoint his successor. But after all, I am fearful that Van Buren will be our next Chief Magistrate. The Kitchen Cabinet have been so active in manufacturing and vending their "glorification spectacles," there is very little hope of successfully opposing the will of the "government."

During the past season our town (Quincy) has been one of the most healthy places in the West. And I know of no reason why it should not continue to be so. It is evident the sickness in years past has been owing

³ Elias Kent Kane, Yale graduate, pioneer lawyer, and holder of many offices. He was United States senator from Illinois from 1824 until his death in 1835.

⁴ John M. Robinson, and "General" by virtue of the state militia. Appointed to the U. S. Senate in 1830 to fill a vacancy, he was elected in 1834.

⁵ John Reynolds, the greatest time-server of them all. From 1830 until 1834 he was governor of Illinois. His books, *My Own Times* and *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, have kept his name alive to this day.

⁶ Zadoc Casey was elected lieutenant-governor in 1830, but resigned in 1833 to take his seat in Congress, where he served four successive terms.

⁷ For William L. May, see p. 243.

to the practice of unskilful physicians, and exposure in uncomfortable dwelling-houses. We have now two or three Doctors who understand their business, and the people are erecting better houses, and nothing but the lack of building materials prevents an unexampled growth of the Town. The Mississippi at the present time is lower than was ever known by the oldest settler; and the navigation is a little interrupted by sand-bars, but more by floating ice. It has not yet been closed this season. Boston Bay which opens into the River just above our landing, is frozen. This Bay extends several miles—the water deep—and is an admirable place for ship or Boat building. A gentleman from Cape Ann Masstts. intends to commence at this business next year. He thinks vessels may be built here and towed to New Orleans at a considerable less expense than they can be built at the East. It is quite probable that some time in 1836, a vessel from Quincy Ills. may be seen at some of your wharves in Boston. The gentleman is an old sea Captain, has had experience in ship-building, and is confident of success in the experiment.

The Tract purchased a year or two since, on the West of the River and north of Missouri is rapidly populating, and at the present rate must soon be organized as a separate Territory.

If you see Sarah, please tell her I hope to have time to write to her before long.

Yrs &c

B. WILLIS.

Attorney at Law

Artemas Hale Esqr
Bridgewater, Mass.

Apparently, Benjamin Willis resided in Quincy for a short time only, for his name is not to be found in the histories of that city. Nahum's *History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater, in Plymouth County, Massachusetts*, which was published in 1840, refers to him as having "gone south."

PAUL M. ANGLE.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

FROM THE SOCIETY'S PRESIDENT

Champ Clark in *My Quarter Century of American Politics* recalls that Hannibal, the greatest leader the continent of Africa ever produced, was banished by the Carthaginians and in despair committed suicide in a foreign land; that John DeWitt, one of the greatest men Holland ever had, was torn limb from limb by a mob of his fellow citizens; that Socrates drank the hemlock; that the Duke of Wellington after the Battle of Waterloo was the intended victim of those whom he had saved.

He might have written more. George Rogers Clark, whom we can thank for the Old Northwest, lived for years dependent upon the generosity of his brother because he had lost a fortune in helping to win the Revolution. The State of Virginia rejected his claims for money advanced by him to the army. Tradition has it that when, after years of poverty, stricken with paralysis, and minus a leg, Virginia ordered a sword for him, he threatened to break it in two and send it back to what he thought was a niggardly commonwealth.

One writer in the early days of the Republic wrote that there were 10,000 men in Pennsylvania ready to lynch President Washington.

Stephen A. Douglas and the mob in Chicago after the passage of the Nebraska Bill, and Abraham Lincoln, who could carry neither his home city nor county in his two presidential elections, are examples from our own state.

Someone has written: "Forgetfulness is the greatest cruelty." Who were the great of America? Who were only famous? How many people remember Eli Whitney for the invention of the cotton gin, and how many for the invention of interchangeable parts, a much greater achievement? How many are familiar with George Washington Carver's career? Who was it that discovered insulin? Who is responsible for the hybrid corn that is revolutionizing corn production? Who can name the last ten governors of Illinois? Besides General Pershing, who commanded American troops in the last war?

Then there is another class. Major General James Wilkinson, commanding general of the United States Army for many years, belongs to it. John Randolph of Roanoke, who often exaggerated, told only the truth when he said of Wilkinson: "He made intrigue a trade and treason a profession." He had power, title, and office. Is this greatness?

There was a great soldier with Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga. He was

also at Quebec, and he was the hero of Saratoga. Had his career ended there, he would have been called great. But Benedict Arnold lived too long for his own or his country's good. It became easy to place him in history.

How many people know of, or care about, John Marshall, Sam Houston, Marcus Whitman, John A. Logan, John M. Palmer, Joseph Fifer, Frank O. Lowden?

School children all used to be taught and perhaps still are, these lines of Longfellow:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Perhaps it would be better, in the interest of accuracy and realism, to substitute Thomas Carlyle's dictum: "Fame . . . is no sure test of merit, but only a probability of such: it is an accident, not a property of a man."

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

DICK OGLESBY ON POLITICS AND WAR

Few men have enjoyed a greater degree of popularity than did the late Governor Oglesby of Illinois. He was whole-souled, genial, and at all times the most delightful of companions. He stood in the front rank of campaign orators when slavery, rebellion, war, and reconstruction were the stirring questions of the hour. In the discussion of these once vital issues, with the entire State for an audience, he was without a peer. But when they were relegated to the domain of history and succeeded by tariff, finance, and other commonplace, everyday questions, the Governor felt greatly hampered. In a large degree Othello's occupation was gone. Cold facts, statistics, figures running up into the millions, gave little opportunity for the play of his wonderful imagination.

In his second race for Governor, in a speech at Bloomington, he said, in a deprecatory tone: "These Democrats undertake to discuss the financial question. They oughtn't to do that. They can't possibly understand it. The Lord's truth is, fellow-citizens, *it is about all we Republicans can do to understand that question!*"

He was a gallant soldier in the Mexican and in the great Civil War, and in the latter achieved distinction as a commanding officer. With Weldon, Ewing, McNulta, Fifer, Rowell, and others as listeners, he once graphically described the first battle in which he was engaged. Turning to his old-time comrade, McNulta, he said: "There is one supreme moment in the experience of a soldier that is absolutely ecstatic!" "That," quickly replied McNulta, "is the very moment when he gets into battle."

"No, damn it," said Oglesby, "*it is the very moment he gets out!*"

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *Something of Men I Have Known*, 346-47.

LINCOLN COMMISSIONS A COLONEL

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, NOV. 11, 1863

Hon. Secretary of War,

MY DEAR SIR:

I personally wish Jacob R. Freese, of New-Jersey to be appointed a

Colonel for a colored regiment—and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Caesar's hair.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

ORIGINAL LETTER IN LINCOLN COLLECTION,
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

THE GARDEN SPOT OF AMERICA

Some sixty years ago, before the first mile of railroad was made, while the Indian still lingered in Central Illinois—when the turnpike road from Baltimore and Washington, over the mountains to the Ohio river, was the great national highway from the Eastern to the infant Western States, and when four-horse stage-coaches for carrying the United States mails and passengers were the best facilities afforded for travel, was the time the facts we record occurred.

Mercantile agents, or drummers, at that early day were unknown. Twice a year Western merchants went East to replenish their stock of goods. The stage-coaches were run night and day, traveling about one hundred miles in twenty-four hours. About the time we speak of one of these elegant stages left Baltimore crowded with Western passengers, mostly merchants, for Wheeling, on the Ohio river. Having traveled one day and night, they were crossing the mountains slowly, tired and sleepy. Discussions on various topics were often encouraged to enliven the otherwise tedious hours. On this occasion three of the passengers were discussing the claims of several of the States to the "Garden Spot of America," while others listened or slept.

One of the three presented the claim of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in its then highly cultivated condition; its rich limestone soil, its beautiful rolling surface, its never failing harvests, its immense barns, etc.

The second, in elegant terms, portrayed the region round about Frankfort, Kentucky, for beauty and climate, and for fertility of soil and elegant improvements, as the "Garden Spot."

And the third gentleman presented and urged the claim of the Shenandoah Valley, of Virginia, surrounded by the mountains and watered by ten thousand never failing springs gushing from the mountains; its golden harvests of grains and luscious fruits, and its blooded flocks upon a thousand hills.

This interesting discussion was suddenly stopped by a roughly dressed passenger, in a jeans hunting suit, fringed, who had been sleeping and snoring for an hour or more. With an expression of terror in his face, he declared that something serious was going to happen [to] the

stage. I've had a remarkable dream, and with a serious earnestness commenced telling his dream to the anxious passengers:

"I dreamed that the horses became unmanageable and plunged over one of these mountain precipices, and we fell and rolled several hundred feet. I found myself struggling in a very cold stream of water, but gained the opposite shore. I looked, and behold, I seemed to be in a paradise—the precincts of Heaven—the trees, and flowers and birds, were exceedingly beautiful, and at a little distance there was a high wall, as if built of precious stones or rocks, and a golden door in the wall. The knob of the door seemed to be a very large diamond, glittering as a star. I concluded I was in the spirit world, and that the golden door was the entrance to Heaven. While thus bewildered this gentleman (pointing to one of the trio disputants) appeared and walked to the golden door. He knocked. The door opened, and a glorious personage appeared, whom I was impressed to think was St. Peter. 'Whence comest thou?' he said to this gentleman; and you answered 'from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania,' and he said, 'enter.' Then came this other gentleman and knocked, St. Peter opened and inquired from whence he came. He replied, 'from Frankfort, Kentucky.' He was invited to enter. And, after a long while, this gentleman (pointing to the third of the trio) hastened to the door and rapped. The door was opened again, and St. Peter appeared for the third time, and inquired from what part of the earth he came. He said: 'From the Valley of Virginia.' And he was permitted to enter.

"The more I looked about me the more I became enchanted. I heard the sweetest music that ever fell on mortal ears, sounding as if from over the wall, and I passed on to the door and rapped with a small silver mallet, that seemed there for the purpose. St. Peter appeared. When he saw me, he said, in sweetest tones: 'Whence comest thou?' I said, 'from the Sangamo country, Illinois.' I shall never forget the candid and kind manner St. Peter said: 'My friend, I advise you to go back, as there is no such beautiful land in Heaven as the valley drained by the Sangamo river. By nature it is the Garden Spot of America, and by the art of man is destined to become the Paradise of the New World—a land of corn and wine, and though the first several generations of settlers may have to toil, yet before the tenth generation shall appear, this wilderness will be made to blossom as the rose.'

"The early settler of Sangamo was so ingenious in presenting the claim of Illinois as containing the 'Garden Spot,' that it was unanimously awarded to it. And at the next stopping place the trio treated to the wine."

Unidentified newspaper article quoted in *History of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1881), 45-46.

NO DOGS, PLEASE

Resolved: The Mayor is requested, respectfully, to invite the Police Magistrate and all others who shall visit the Council Room, either for business or for edification and amusement, to leave their dogs at home. It being hereby distinctly declared it is the opinion of this board that that class of quadrupeds are in no case necessary to their edification as men or to proper disposal of business as a board.

JOLIET CITY COUNCIL, *Proceedings*, Nov. 6, 1857 (Contributed)

TRIALS OF AN EARLY SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL TEACHER

[*The Springfield public school system was inaugurated April 14, 1856. A year later one of the teachers wrote the following description of the first weeks of school.—Editor.*]

When this school was first opened, the behavior of the children indicated their joy on an occasion so auspicious. They came in numbers so great that the accommodations of the house were insufficient for them. They seemed frantic with curiosity and delight. The sudden gathering together of so many children into one school, subjected their youthful excitability to a trial for which they were wholly unprepared. Children so situated could not be expected to deport themselves in an orderly manner, and with moderation. They ran, they jumped, they screamed. The boys brought their bone-rattles, and the girls and boys came with whistles. They leaped over the chairs, and from desk to desk, rattling, singing, hooting and screaming, in joyous exhilaration, as if the occasion and the house had been gotten up expressly for frolic and fun, and without any design whatever for study, discipline and improvement of mind and morals. They had, indeed, a notion that the school was intended for learning and saying lessons; but their ideas on this point were exceedingly vague. The feeling for pleasure and play was by far the most potent, and heartily did the glad youngsters yield their busy feet and hands and mouth to the promptings of this feeling. Self-restraint was out of the question. Morning, noon and the recesses were seasons of noise, merriment and confusion, with scarcely an exception. Threats and flagellations were the chief resorts of the teacher, with any reasonable hope of being able to abate the outrageous fun.

But now, in the *fourth session*, (Spring of 1857) we have the pleasure to witness a happy change. The pupils have exhibited a high degree of natural talent. They have learned well, considering the want of discipline, and other disadvantages connected with the first attempt to organize

them into a large public school. (The number then in this school was 360.) The excitement produced by the numbers and novelty of the school, has manifestly declined, and the scholars have a far clearer appreciation of the order, obedience and application to study for which such an institution is designed.

The parents, also, are becoming more helpful, and less inclined to be mere censors, pronouncing hasty and arbitrary judgments and harsh opinions respecting the teachers, the tax principle and the board of inspectors. People who formerly paid but little attention to the real difficulty and delicacy of the teachers' duties and responsibilities, are beginning to feel the generous sympathy which stimulates to co-operation. Among the pupils there is an increasing pride of scholarship—a feeling at first so feeble that, in the large majority of individuals, I could scarcely discern its existence. Patient and accurate study is beginning to assume the force of habit. The degradation of insufficient lessons is becoming more dreaded than the drudgery of laborious attention to the assigned portions for recitation.

Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Springfield, Illinois (1861), 18-19.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held at Bloomington on Friday and Saturday, October 6 and 7. As this is written, the program is incomplete, but it will include one paper on the history of the Alton Railroad and another on the development of hybrid seed corn. In conjunction with these talks the members of the Society will have the privilege of visiting the Alton shops at Bloomington and the Funk Seed Company, where an exhibit illustrating the development of hybrid corn will be on display. Programs will be sent to all members of the Society about September 15.



Before this issue of the *Journal* is circulated, *Papers in Illinois History*, 1942, should be in the hands of the Society's members. Publication of this volume, which was due last year, has been delayed for many months because of shortages of paper and binder's cloth. In fact, these shortages are becoming so critical that there is a strong likelihood that *Papers in Illinois History* will have to be suspended until after the war. If that should happen, the *Journal* will be enlarged, and the Society may inaugurate a series of brochures devoted to the publication of important source materials in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library. Both developments, however, are contingent upon our ability to obtain the required quantity of paper.



*A History of Illinois Congregational and Christian Churches*¹ commemorates the hundredth anniversary of the organization of the General Association of Illinois in 1844. It is the first comprehensive account of these churches in this state.

The *History* was a co-operative venture, carried to completion under the editorship of Matthew Spinka of the Hartford Theological Seminary. The Reverend Frederick Kuhns of Chicago wrote the first three chapters, which deal with early Congregationalism under the Plan of Union. Professor Hermann Muelder of Knox College has contributed chapters on Congregationalists during the Civil War and on the growth of the church

¹ Congregational and Christian Conference of Illinois, 19 S. LaSalle St., Chicago. \$1.00.

from 1865 until 1900. Dr. Spinka is the author of one chapter on the organization of the General Association in 1844, another on the church in the twentieth century, and a third dealing with the history of the Christian denomination in Illinois. There are also chapters on the Congregational Women's Society and the Chicago Congregational Union.

As is almost always the case with a book produced by joint authorship, there are noticeable differences in style and frequent duplications in content. These defects, however, are of minor consequence in comparison with the advantage of having an integrated account of two prominent religious denominations within the covers of one book.



Even the reader with much more than a surface knowledge of American history is likely to be surprised at the human activity which Lake Michigan has witnessed during the three hundred and ten years that white men have known it. In the seventeenth century, when English colonies extended only short distances inland from the Atlantic coast, the lake was a familiar highway to French explorers, traders, and priests. Long before the English crossed the Appalachian barrier, the French towns of St. Ignace, St. Joseph, and De Pere were firmly seated on its shores. Its waters saw violence—Indian wars, Pontiac's conspiracy, the Fort Dearborn massacre. Early in the nineteenth century the sails of many ships flecked its waves; later the smoke of an even larger number lay on its horizons. And all the while the nation's second city grew at its foot.

All this and much more is to be found in Milo M. Quaife's *Lake Michigan*.² There are accounts of the fur trade and the steel industry, in both of which the lake has played a major role. Cities other than the colossus of Chicago—Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha—get their fair share of attention. Such departures from orthodoxy, economic as well as religious, as the Wisconsin Phalanx, James J. Strang's Mormon "Kingdom," and the House of David are adequately treated. One chapter even deals with the animals of the lake region. In short, the book is a narrative rich with interest.

Lake Michigan is the third volume to be published in the *American Lakes Series*, of which Mr. Quaife is the editor. Judging from the books which have so far appeared, this series is greatly superior to the *Rivers of America Series*, with which it naturally invites comparison. Its authors are scholars who can also write; and their books have solid substance.

² Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.

There is hardly a town in southern Illinois that does not claim the honor of having entertained the Marquis de Lafayette when he made his tour of the United States in 1825. But the sad fact of the matter is that Lafayette visited only Kaskaskia and Shawneetown, and that he stayed less than a day at both places.

That fact is emphasized by a newly published compilation of contemporary accounts of Lafayette's tour—*A Pilgrimage of Liberty*,³ compiled and edited by Edgar Ewing Brandon. For the Illinois visits, the compiler is compelled to rely upon the *Illinois Gazette* of Shawneetown, which not only published a full account of Lafayette's visit to that place (May 7), but also reprinted the *Kaskaskia Republican's* story of his earlier visit (April 30) to Kaskaskia. These accounts, which publication in book form makes readily available, together with Levasseur's *Lafayette in America*, furnish a detailed narrative of Lafayette's Illinois visit, and leave no room for the possibility that he was entertained at any other place in the state.

A Pilgrimage of Liberty covers only Lafayette's tour of the southern and western states—a tour that began at Washington on February 23, 1825, and ended on June 15 at Boston. Dr. Brandon plans to complete the account of Lafayette's sojourn in three more volumes.



During the Civil War the number of men lost by disease was appalling, but it would have been even larger had it not been for the women whose work is described in *Lincoln's Daughters of Mercy*,⁴ by Marjorie Barstow Greenbie. These were the women who, first organizing spontaneously in Ladies' Aid Societies, later bore the brunt of the work of the United States Sanitary Commission after that organization was founded in the summer of 1861. Among them were three women who should have an honored place in Illinois history—Mary A. Livermore, then living in Chicago, "Mother" Bickerdyke of Galesburg, and Mary Safford of Cairo. Mary A. Livermore, whose husband was the editor of a Universalist publication issued in Chicago, was the driving force of the Northwest Sanitary Commission, and organized 4,000 societies for the aid of Union soldiers. "Mother" Bickerdyke served with the troops, operating diet kitchens, organizing laundries, and scourging slovenliness and inefficiency in the care of sick and wounded soldiers. Mary Safford made life bearable for many a soldier in Cairo until a spinal injury forced her retirement.

Mrs. Greenbie tells the story of these and other women, and of the men who worked with them in the forerunner of the American Red Cross,

³ The Lawhead Press, Athens, Ohio. \$3.00.

⁴ Putnam. \$3.00.

in engaging fashion. (At times one suspects that the narrative is a little too lively for strict accuracy, but the author insists that her work is solidly based on the records of the United States Sanitary Commission, and asserts that she has "taken no liberties in the way of putting words into people's mouths or thoughts into their heads.") A condensed version of the book was published in *Reader's Digest*, August, 1943. The full narrative, in book form, lacks an index—a major defect.



Mr. E. W. Mureen's *History of the Fulton County Narrow Gauge Railway*⁵ is, as he himself describes it, the story of "a little railroad." The Narrow Gauge, or "Peavine" as it was commonly called, was sixty-one miles in length, and its 34-pound rails were three feet apart instead of four feet eight and one-half inches, the standard distance. Thus in two ways it fitted Mr. Mureen's description.

The Fulton County Narrow Gauge was incorporated in 1878, an outgrowth of Lewistown's successful resistance of Canton's effort to secure the seat of Fulton County. The narrow gauge was adopted because of its lower cost, and because it was considered adequate for the needs of the territory which the road would serve. Service between Cuba and Lewistown was inaugurated in August, 1880, and the full line—Galesburg to West Havana—went into operation two years later. The narrow gauge was retained until 1905, when, preparatory to the transfer of the road to the Burlington, it was widened to standard. The Burlington took over the road, first as lessee and later as owner, on January 1, 1906, and operated it as an integral part of its own system until 1935, when most of the line was abandoned.

Mr. Mureen, who lives in Galesburg, tells the story in detail. He includes accounts, technical enough to satisfy the locomotive enthusiasts, of the "Peavine's" engines—at one time it had five!—and of its rolling stock; he describes its struggles with weather, topography, run-down equipment, and inflated capitalization. Many old photographs are used as illustrations.



*A Brief History of the Chicago and North Western Line*⁶ was published in 1942 but escaped the Editor's notice until recently. The booklet contains a concise account of the formation of the Chicago and North West-

⁵ Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston. \$2.00.

⁶ Published by the Chicago and North Western Railway Co., Chicago.

ern Railway Company in 1864—the story begins with the Chicago and Galena Union, chartered in 1836, and put into operation in 1848—and of major developments in the company's history since then.

Included is an explanation of one feature of the North Western that has puzzled many thousands—its practice of running trains on the left rather than on the right wherever the road is double-tracked. English and Dutch capital was heavily interested in the Galena and Chicago Union, and the foreign engineers that worked on the road built it for the left-hand system of operation that was and is the rule in England and Europe. Other railroads, built for left-hand operation, eventually changed over, but the North Western's investment in switches, equipment, and stations was too heavy to justify the change. Now it is the only railroad in the United States on which trains pass each other on the left.

Forty-seven illustrations—of locomotives, trains, and stations—supplement the text of this interesting and informative booklet.



The publication of a history is a commendable way for a financial institution—or, for that matter, any institution—to commemorate an anniversary.

That comment is occasioned by the publication of *Sixty Years of Distinguished Service*,⁷ a booklet describing the founding and growth of the Franklin Life Insurance Company, of Springfield. Established in 1884, the Franklin operated for fifteen years as an assessment association, and then became a legal reserve company. By the end of twenty-five years it had absorbed a number of other companies and associations, it had \$40,000,000 of insurance in force, and was preparing to build the impressive home office building it now occupies. Today the company has nearly \$250,000,000 of insurance in force, and possesses assets of \$58,000,000.

Sixty Years of Distinguished Service is the work of Francis J. O'Brien, of the Franklin home office staff, who relates the story to the national background instead of treating it in a vacuum.



*Early Austin*⁸ is the title of an attractive booklet devoted to the history of one of Chicago's west-side localities. Austin, named for Henry W. Austin, enjoyed vigorous and healthy life as a village from the late 1860's until 1899, when it was incorporated into the city of Chicago. Like many

⁷ Published by the Franklin Life Insurance Co., Springfield, Ill.

⁸ Austin Branch Library, 5615 Race Ave., Chicago. 25c

other parts of Chicago that were once independent communities, it still retains distinguishing features and pride in its individuality. Evidence of that pride—a laudable quality—is this informal little history, published by the Austin Friends of the Library. The author, Miss Anne N. Danegger of the staff of the Austin Branch Library, has illustrated the booklet with a number of sketches of early Austin buildings.



New Haven, Illinois, is a small community (700 by the last census) located at the confluence of the Little and Big Wabash rivers in the northern part of Gallatin County. There lives Jimmy Chastain, a boy in his 'teens whose hands and feet are paralyzed. Jimmy's teacher, Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, organized her subjects—reading, writing, spelling, history, and geography—around the story of the town where Jimmy lived. Out of that project grew the *History of New Haven, Illinois*.⁹

This booklet, sixty-five pages and liberally illustrated, tells the story of an Illinois community which differs from many villages of its size. For one thing, it is older, having been founded before Illinois became a state; but the principal marks of distinction are its uncommon industries. It is, of course, a trading center for the farmers of the vicinity, but it also exports pecans in large quantities and the fish that its professional fishermen take from the rivers. Since 1941 a number of oil wells have been sunk in the neighborhood, and these have contributed materially to New Haven's prosperity.



A new song entitled "Song for Winnetka," composed by Miss Laura Helen Coupland, was sung by members of the North Shore Choral Society at the annual meeting¹⁰ of the Winnetka Historical Society on May 25. Also included on the program was a talk by Frank A. Windes on "The Sinking of the *Lady Elgin*."

The following persons were elected to office for the coming year: Norman K. Anderson, president; Miss Marion Russell, vice-president; Mrs. Marcus Whiting, secretary; Mrs. Charles H. Coffin, treasurer; Frank A. Windes, Edward Haase, and Alfred Freeman, directors.



More than 20,000 persons visited the museum of the Aurora Historical Society in twelve months, according to the report made by the

⁹ Carmi Democrat-Tribune Publishing Co., Carmi, Ill.

curator at a meeting of the Society on May 8. The treasurer's report, made at the same time, showed that the Society was beginning its new year free from debt and that, due to contributions of many new sustaining members, it would be possible to keep the museum open this year.

Officers elected by the Society at this meeting include: Charles Pierce Burton, president; Lorin S. Hill and Al Meiers, vice-presidents; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; George Simpson, T. J. Merrill, W. B. Greene, and Albert W. Thurow, directors.



A dinner for "old timers" was sponsored by the Boone County Historical Society in Belvidere on June 8. All persons who had lived in Boone County for seventy-five years or longer and were able to attend were guests of the Society.



Mrs. William H. Matlack was recently re-elected to her fifth term as president of the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County. Other officers re-elected are: Charles F. Gergen, first vice-president; Mrs. Nell Walsh Barnes, second vice-president; Mrs. Margaret Walsh Weleba, recording secretary; and Mrs. Louis Traband, treasurer. The following persons are directors of the Society: Leo J. Dougherty, Melvin Price, Calvin D. Johnson, John E. Miller, N. Ralph Huff, and Emmett P. Griffin.

Charles P. Boyer, who served as the first president of the Cahokia Historical Society, died at his home in East St. Louis on May 25.



"The Ravenswood Hospital" was the subject discussed by Dr. H. K. Scatliff at the tenth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) on April 20. The program also included reminiscences by James McCurrach, president of the Association, and community singing of old-time songs. Colors were posted by the Color Guard of the Ravenswood Post, American Legion.



The annual meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) was held at the South Shore Branch Library on May 11, with Mrs. Jane Wallace Ormsby in charge of the program. Miss Mary Harvey led the

community singing, and Miss Dorothy Alice Ball played the cornet. A talk on "Libraries, Old and New" was made by Miss Helen S. Babcock. Election of officers saw the following persons named: Arthur C. Clemensen, president; Mrs. Charles Gerds, vice-president; Mrs. Mary Werner, recording secretary; Helen S. Babcock, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Harry Kriewitz, treasurer; and David Bird, Sr., genealogist.



The annual spring meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) was held on May 15 at the Garfield Park Recreation Center. Mrs. Robert A. Jamieson talked on "The Old Scammon School Days." A quiz on "Lincoln in Illinois" was also a part of the program, with Otto Eisenschiml acting as the quiz master.

Miss Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian of the Society, urgently requests people who have photographs, school and club programs, letters, and other material pertaining to the history of the West Side, to donate them to the Society. Its headquarters are located at 115 South Crawford Street, Chicago (24).



In the setting of an old-time village store, members of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) met on May 12. Residents of the community who had been in business in Woodlawn for twenty-five to fifty years gave their reminiscences of early business experiences. Community singing, led by Lois Shamberg, included melodies from the Gay Nineties. Several selections were also presented by the Live Wire Choral Club.



The directors of the DuPage County Historical Society are seeking new members for their Society. To save clerical work and paper, the annual fee of \$1.00 is now payable biennially (\$2.00). An enlarged program of activities is planned for the coming year. New phases of the Society's work include the keeping of wartime records and co-operation with other local groups in planning for permanent memorials.

Directors of the Society are: H. A. Berens, president; Theo. Hammerschmidt, vice-president; Mrs. Miles Sater, secretary; Raleigh E. Klein, treasurer; Alben F. Bates, George H. Bunge, Jr., Miss Gladys Cable, Mrs. Lora Conley, Wayland W. Dayton, Hugh G. Dugan, Mrs. Harold P. Dunton, Ray Franzen, Marshall Keig, Mrs. E. O. Linden, Robert L. McKee, Arthur Repke, J. T. Schless, and Mrs. F. W. Schulze.

The Albion Normal University and its successor, the Southern Collegiate Institution, were discussed by E. L. Dukes at the April meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. At the June meeting, T. H. Shepherd spoke on the early churches of Edwards County and the ministers who served them.



The first annual business meeting of the Geneva Historical Society was held on May 8 with Leon Wheeler, president, in charge. Committee reports were made, an education report was read by David Grenier, and Mrs. Warren Smith played a group of piano selections.



Plans for reorganizing the Madison County Historical Society, which has been inactive for two years, were made at a meeting in Edwardsville on June 17. Another meeting will be held in December. Officers now serving the Society include: H. P. S. Smith, president; Mrs. Mark Henson, vice-president; Carrie Wolf, secretary; and E. W. Ellis, treasurer.



An old colonial document dated June 16, 1692, and bearing the signature of Cotton Mather, was presented to the Oak Park Historical Society by Mrs. Lena Secord and her daughter, Mrs. Lotis L. Huston, on May 18. The presentation ceremony was followed by a pageant based on American colonial history, presented under the direction of Miss Esta D. Johnson.



Phil Becker was elected president of the Peoria Historical Society on May 15. Other officers named are: H. L. Spooner, vice-president; Miss Emma Shriner, secretary; and E. C. Bessler, treasurer. Directors are Ernest E. East, Ray Brons, and G. R. Barnett.

Two papers were read at this meeting: "The Four Forts of Peoria" by Dr. William Booth Philip, and "Peoria in the Present War" by the Reverend F. Alvin Parks.



A trip to one of the new forest preserves in Rock Island County was a feature of the annual meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society on May 20. An excursion boat took members of the Society to the

Searle ranch, located along the slough of the Mississippi River near Andalusia, where a picnic supper was served. The trip was planned by John H. Hauberg, who had explored the area and prepared the clearing where the meeting was held. The program arranged for the occasion included a talk by George W. Wickstrom, who detailed the history of the Searle ranch.

At the annual election of officers which followed, all officers were re-elected. These include: John H. Hauberg, honorary president; Henry F. Staack, president; Miss Elsie Shocker, first vice-president; Mrs. Carl Waldmann, second vice-president; Mrs. Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., secretary; Miss Alice Williams, treasurer; Miss Helen Marshall, archivist; Miss Georgia T. First, Lynn Callaway, Wilson P. Hunt, O. L. Nordstrom, William C. Lukens, C. R. Rosborough, and J. L. Oakleaf, directors.



High school students of southern Illinois are being urged to write historical articles on their respective communities, according to a plan recently inaugurated by the Southern Illinois Historical Society. The Society is seeking to accomplish this aim by asking high school history teachers to encourage their students in the writing of such papers. It is the belief of the Society's directors that much local history which might otherwise be lost will be thus recorded.

At the April meeting of the Society, Dr. Richard L. Beyer was re-elected president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society. Other officers include: J. Ward Barnes, first vice-president, and Mrs. J. P. Schuh, second vice-president. Robert Chapman was added to the list of directors.

The program at this meeting included talks by Will Griffith on "Historic Sites in Egypt" and Clarence Bonnell on "Courthouses of Saline County."



The Whiteside County Historical Society, which became inactive some years ago, will probably be revived this fall. Representatives of several civic organizations in Sterling met in July and voted to assist in the reorganization. A committee on permanent organization has been named by Roscoe Eades, temporary chairman.



We note with sorrow the death of Christopher B. Coleman, Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society and Director of the Indiana His-

torical Bureau. Mr. Coleman was born in the historic home of Stephen T. Logan in Springfield, Illinois, on April 24, 1875; he died at Indianapolis on June 25, 1944. After attending Springfield High School he entered Yale University, where he graduated in 1896. Later, he studied at the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and the University of Berlin.

Upon his graduation from college Mr. Coleman entered the ministry, but he soon decided to make the teaching of history his life work. His professional career included teaching at Butler College, where he also served as vice-president, and at Allegheny College. He became Director of the Indiana Historical Bureau, a state agency, in 1924. From 1936 until 1942 he also served as Librarian of the Indiana State Library. His published writings include a number of works in early medieval history as well as numerous contributions to the history of the United States.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jay Monaghan is Historical Research Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library. . . . Harry E. Pratt is a member of the faculty in the Department of History at Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana.... In "Across the Prairie," Mary Young Guérault has written the story of her husband's family. She resides in Chicago. . . . Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, is a director of the Illinois State Historical Society (president, 1940-1941) who has made frequent contributions to its publications.

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FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

Illinois State Historical Society

THE Illinois State Historical Society held one of its most successful meetings in recent years at Bloomington on the sixth and seventh of October. The attendance was good, with more than fifty members from outside Bloomington; the fall weather was at its best; and the program was excellent. In the role of host, the McLean County Historical Society made the visitors welcome and saw to it that they enjoyed their stay in Bloomington.

The meeting opened with a luncheon at which all visiting members of the Society were guests of the McLean County Historical Society. Mr. Wayne C. Townley, president of both societies, introduced all who were present. Then Mr. Carl Vrooman of Bloomington spoke informally but most effectively on the importance of the historian's role. Before the luncheon, music was provided by students of the College of Music of Illinois Wesleyan University.

The session on Friday afternoon was well attended. Mr. John H. Hauberg, of Rock Island, presided. The first speaker was Mr. D. W. Yungmeyer of Chicago, who took as his subject "An Excursion into the Early History of the Chicago and Alton Railroad." In spite of the fact that the Alton is one of the oldest railroads of the state, almost nothing has been written about its early history. Mr. Yungmeyer's paper, therefore, was a pioneer work. Professor Paul W. Gates of Cornell University, an authority on the disposal of the public domain, followed Mr. Yungmeyer. In his paper, entitled "Frontier Landlords in Illinois," Professor Gates dealt with the large landholders of the state, and especially the Sibleys and Scullys. Both papers will be published in an early issue of the *Journal*.

At the conclusion of the Friday afternoon session those who attended were served tea at the home of Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer. Many then took advantage of an invitation to visit the fine library of Mr. W. K. Bracken.

More than 250 attended the Society's annual dinner on Friday evening. As soon as the meal was served, the Vera Pearl Kemp String Ensemble presented a series of American war songs, beginning with "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Yankee Doodle," and ending with "The Marine Hymn." Mr. Paul M. Angle, in a running commentary, placed the songs in their historical settings. At the conclusion of this part of the program Mr. Wayne C. Townley accepted two beautiful colored photographs of Sac Indians presented to the Illinois State Historical Society and the McLean County Historical Society by the Funk Seed Company. Mr. Townley then introduced Mr. Bruce Thomas, war correspondent of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who related a series of personal experiences in the European war theater. After a short question period, the evening meeting adjourned.

On Saturday morning Mr. A. R. Crabb, of Naperville, spoke on the subject: "Hybrid Corn: Was It Born in Illinois?" Mr. Crabb's paper was a part of a study of the historical development of hybrid corn on which he has been engaged for some time, and which is still far from completion. When finished, the study will be published in the Society's *Journal*. At the conclusion of Mr. Crabb's talk the Funk Seed Company furnished cars to take the visitors to their hybrid corn seed plots south of Bloomington. There, under the expert guidance of Dr. J. R. Holbert, they were shown hybrids in the field. The trip was an effective and enjoyable illustration of Mr. Crabb's paper.

The annual business meeting, which took place on the afternoon of Saturday, October 7, was devoted principally to consideration of the secretary's report and action upon his recommendations. The report follows:

Herewith is presented a summary of the activities of the Illinois State Historical Society since its last annual meeting, held at Dixon on October 15-16, 1943.

For five months of the past year I was absent from Springfield, acting as a Special Consultant for the Army Air Forces. During that time Mr. Jay Monaghan, of the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library, served most capably as Acting Secretary, although I retained editorial supervision of the Society's publications. The normal functioning of the Society was made more difficult by the resignation, on December 10, 1943, of Mr. Ernest E. East, who left to join the staff of the Office of Price Administration in Peoria. In spite of these difficulties, the work of the Society has suffered no serious setback.

Those of you who attended the annual meeting in 1943 will remember it as a pleasant occasion, and I believe a profitable one as well. To those who did not attend it may be said that while the attendance was smaller than usual—about forty visitors, with an equal number of Dixon people—those who were present considered themselves repaid for the effort. They heard an excellent address by Mr. Graham Hutton, Director of the British Information Services in Chicago, and enjoyed, in spite of disagreeable weather, a day's outing in beautiful and historic country. The Society is under a deep obligation to Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen, who opened her country home, "Hazelwood," to its members and by her gracious hospitality made the afternoon a memorable one. Local arrangements were handled by the Lee County Historical Society with quiet efficiency. Altogether, it was felt that the meeting was further justification of the policy the Society has followed since the outbreak of the war, namely, that of holding its annual meetings as usual in the assurance that its members were fully capable of deciding whether their attendance would affect the national interest adversely.

At the meeting of the Directors on October 16, 1943, a committee consisting of the President, Senior Vice-President, and Secretary was empowered to select the place at which the Society should meet in 1944. Subsequently the invitation tendered by the McLean County Historical Society was accepted, Bloomington was designated as the place, and October 6-7 chosen as the time. Because the difficulties of travel are steadily increasing, a simple program was planned.

Last year, at Dixon, I reported a membership of 1,146, which was a net gain of 140 over the previous year. On September 15, 1944, our membership stood at 1,159. This represents a gain of 13 members in the past year. Under the circumstances which have prevailed during much of the year, the fact that our membership increased at all should be a source of gratification. Had we continued to enjoy Mr. East's effective promotional work, there is no doubt that the membership would have shown a substantial increase.

The Society should, I think, take pride in the fact that it has 81

institutional members outside Illinois. These are libraries and institutions which are not on our exchange list. (We have numerous exchanges, and libraries in Illinois receive our publications without charge.) These libraries are not moved by local pride. They maintain memberships solely because they consider our publications worth the cost, not only of the subscription, but also of handling and binding. No basis for comparison with other societies is available, but I question whether many can outdo the Illinois State Historical Society in this respect.

Last year, at Dixon, it was agreed that the Society's membership list should be published at five year intervals. Circumstances permitting, the list will be published in 1945. At the suggestion of one of the officers, the last issue of the *Journal* to appear in each calendar year will contain the names of members who have joined during that year. This list will appear for the first time in the *Journal* for December, 1944.

By good fortune and the cordial co-operation of the State Superintendent of Printing, the Society has been able to bring out the *Journal* at quarterly intervals and to publish one volume of *Papers*—that for 1942. On the *Journal* a green cover was substituted for the customary brown. Though the change was born of necessity, the result was an improvement in appearance. Members should not be surprised, however, if the cover is changed again—in these days one takes what is available. In order to economize on paper, the type pages of the Society's publications have been enlarged, without, it is believed, marring their appearance.

As far as publications are concerned, the prospect for the future is not encouraging. Paper quotas have not been established for state printing, but it is becoming more and more difficult for the State Superintendent of Printing to obtain sufficient paper for our requirements. Binding materials are equally hard to get, and corrugated board, for mailing bound volumes, is practically unobtainable. Under the circumstances, the Society might well consider discontinuing the publication of *Papers In Illinois History*, at least until normal conditions are restored. The Society's official proceedings can easily be published in the *Journal*, and most of the articles which have appeared in the annual volume can also be accommodated in our quarterly publication.

Other considerations point to the desirability of discontinuing the *Papers*. Originally this volume was a medium of publication for the papers delivered at the Society's annual meeting. In recent years, however, the annual meeting has become less and less formal, with the result that it no longer gives rise to enough material to fill even part of a book. Currently, the dearth of publishable material is accentuated by the fact that many of those who would normally be contributors are in military service or in war work where they have no opportunity for historical research and writing. It is worth noting, moreover, that while the publication of annual volumes of proceedings or transactions was once almost universal, ours is now almost the only Society which still follows the practice.

One other matter in connection with the Society's publications deserves your attention. That is the preparation of adequate indexes. Each volume of the *Journal* is indexed, and so is each volume of *Transactions* and *Papers*; but these separate indexes are poor substitutes for comprehensive indexes. (The *General Index*, published in 1930, must be characterized as only slightly better than nothing.) Over the forty-five years of its existence the Society has published a very respectable library of Illinois history, but it has failed to provide effective tools for using it.

I recommend that the Society make an immediate appropriation for at least the beginning of work on comprehensive indexes. I use the plural purposely, for more than one volume will be required. The *Journal* is in its thirty-seventh volume: an index to the first forty volumes would run to the neighborhood of 800 pages, which is too large. A better plan would be to publish an index to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Journal*, and a second index for volumes 25 to 50 when the latter number is reached. A comprehensive index for all volumes of *Transactions* and *Papers* should be undertaken as soon as practicable if the Society decides to discontinue this series. The work of compilation alone, on the only basis on which we are likely to get it done, will require several years, and by that time the present difficulties attending all printing and publishing will certainly have disappeared.

Systematic publicizing of the Society's activities is one phase of secretarial work that suffered from Mr. East's resignation and my own prolonged absence. The Society, however, has received some notice in the press of the state, and an effort will be made to bring it to the attention of the general public more often in the future.

The relationship between the Illinois State Historical Society and local historical societies has not been as close during the last twelve months as in the past, and again, my own absence has been largely responsible. However, plans have already been made to visit a number of societies during the coming fall and winter, so whatever has been lost in this respect will quickly be regained.

Perhaps it is not too early for the Society to consider a post-war innovation—joint meetings with other state societies. The state historical society of at least one of our neighboring states is desirous of joining with us in occasional meetings. Joint meetings now and then would appear to have several advantages—they would bring like-minded people together, and offer means of extending historical and geographical knowledge. The subject is brought up not for immediate decision, but only in order that it may be considered well in advance of the time when a decision will be required.

Another event which is not too far in the future to be given some consideration is the Society's fiftieth anniversary, which will take place in 1949. It would seem to be fitting that the Society should plan suitable observances for this occasion. The anniversary might be the date for the

completion of the indexes referred to elsewhere in this report, and perhaps a comprehensive history of the Society and its achievements could be issued in commemoration.

Each year the Secretary has the duty of noting the names of members who have died since the last meeting. This year we recall with regret the loss of the following members:

Benjamin Franklin Affleck	Chicago
J. William Atkins	Lincoln
Mrs. George E. Brennan	Chicago
S. T. Burnett	Springfield
Frederick J. Casterline	Indianapolis, Ind.
B. L. Catron	Springfield
Stanley W. Clark	Chicago
Christopher B. Coleman	Indianapolis, Ind.
Loren C. Cox	Quincy
Charles G. Davis	Cambridge
Archibald E. Freer	Chicago
I. T. Greenacre	Chicago
George P. Hambrecht	Madison, Wis.
David W. Hazen	Portland, Ore.
Frank J. Loesch	Chicago
Wiley W. Mills	Chicago
U. G. Orendorff	Los Angeles, Calif.
R. W. Ropiequet	East St. Louis
D. C. Shaff	Clinton, Ind.

If members of the Society know of others who have died since October 15, 1943, whose names are not recorded here, they are requested to report them.

Respectfully submitted,
PAUL M. ANGLE

September 15, 1944

After a thorough discussion, the Society voted to discontinue its publication, *Papers in Illinois History*. It was agreed, however, that as soon as paper can be obtained, the *Journal* will be enlarged to include all the material customarily printed in the *Papers*. Thus the members of the Society will receive as much as ever in the way of publications. To attract more contributors and better contributions, the Secretary was authorized to pay \$25 for each full-length article (5,000 words or more) accepted for publication. Payment for articles is something of a new departure in scholarly publishing, and the decision to inaugurate the practice is not

irrevocable. If it does not, after a fair trial, produce the results desired, it will be discontinued.

The Society also authorized the preparation of a comprehensive index to the *Journal*. It is planned to compile and publish one index volume for the first twenty-five volumes of the *Journal*. After that is done, a cumulative index will be made for later volumes, and this will be published in permanent form as soon as fifty volumes have been completed. As soon as possible, a single index volume for the Society's *Transactions* and *Papers* will be prepared.

Observance of the Society's fiftieth anniversary in 1949 was considered at the business meeting, and there was considerable discussion of ways in which the Society could mark the completion of its first fifty years. A special meeting with several speakers of note, the publication of the indexes referred to above, and the publication of a history of the Society were all suggested as appropriate. It was also proposed that the Society give its members an opportunity to contribute to a special Fiftieth Anniversary Fund, which would be used to defray the expenses of the anniversary observance. In the end, the President was authorized to appoint a Fiftieth Anniversary Committee of five members. The committee will recommend a Fiftieth Anniversary program, consider ways of raising the necessary funds, and report not later than the next annual meeting.

Five Directors whose terms expired in 1944—O. F. Ander, Irving Dilliard, Ernest E. East, Jewell F. Stevens, and Wayne C. Townley—were re-elected for three-year terms. The Directors then met to elect officers. Mr. Ernest E. East was elected to the presidency, and Theodore C. Pease, Richard L. Beyer, Dwight F. Clark, F. S. Fowler, Oscar C. Hayward, and George W. Smith were elected Vice-Presidents. Paul M. Angle was re-elected Secretary.

To the Directors, Mr. East presented an invitation from the Peoria Historical Society and the Peoria Association of

Commerce to meet in Peoria in 1945. The city will celebrate the centennial of its own municipal government next year, and it is expected that an atmosphere congenial to history will prevail. The invitation was referred to a committee consisting of the President, Senior Vice-President, and Secretary for action.

FORT ST. LOUIS AT PEORIA

BY FLOYD MULKEY

FORT St. Louis was established at Peoria in 1692 when Henri "Iron Hand" Tonti chose this region as the base for his trading operations in the Illinois Country. Prior to that time, however, French explorers had stopped in the Peoria region (called Pimiteoui by the Indians—"the land of great plenty") and had given more than passing mention to the location and to its inhabitants. As early as 1673 Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette, returning to Canada by way of the Illinois River after their explorations down the Mississippi, "passed by the Indians of Peoria;" the party halted three days to give the high-souled missionary an opportunity to announce the faith in the cabins of the savages. In 1680 the great French imperialist and explorer, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, stopped at Pimiteoui, where he found the Illinois tribes in winter camp. After spending a few weeks with the fickle Indians La Salle began the construction of Fort Crevecoeur, which was planned as a base for the projected expedition to the Gulf of Mexico. Unfortunately this outpost of French dominion was abandoned in the early spring of 1680 following a mutiny of the workmen in the garrison.

Fort St. Louis had its beginning at the location on the Illinois River now so well known as Starved Rock. When La Salle returned to Illinois late in 1682 after his historic journey down the Mississippi he decided to establish his new outpost on this prominent rock, in the vicinity of the then great Kaskaskia village. In a letter of April, 1683, written from this place, he told how he had persuaded more

than forty Indian villages to apply to him for peace, some turning to him from Spanish influence. La Salle wrote also that his new post, which he had named for his king, was then about to be built.¹ Around this fort he collected numerous Indian tribes for a common and united defense against the feared Iroquois. But La Salle was too restless to remain long in Illinois. Leaving his lieutenant, Tonti, in command at Fort St. Louis, he hurried off in pursuit of a new ambition, that of establishing a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, as a result of which the explorer lost his life in 1687.

When Tonti heard of the death of his leader he and his business associate, François Daupin de la Forest, presented a request to the King for the concession at Fort St. Louis, basing their claim on the expense which they had incurred in maintaining the post.²

The request was granted by a decree issued in 1690 conferring on the two men the same rights and privileges which La Salle had enjoyed, on condition that they develop the post and exercise their influence to send the Illinois against the Iroquois.³

Tonti thereupon transferred his post from the Rock back to the Peoria region. The story of the establishment of this second fort at Pimiteoui is told briefly in the "De Gannes Memoir," which was written by the Sieur de Liette, a nephew or cousin of Tonti.⁴ In the autumn of 1691 while

¹ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1855), IX: 799.

² Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans L'ouest et dans le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, *Mémoires et Documents Originaux* (Paris, 1887), V: 36-38.

³ Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations, 1680-1693* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, Springfield, 1934), 228-33, 263.

⁴ This memoir has been published in *ibid.*, p. 302-95. The manuscript carries the signature "De Gannes," and was dated Oct. 20, 1721, at Montreal. The internal evidence, however, proves conclusively that Des Lietttes, or De Liette as he was usually called, was the author. The writer tells us that he arrived at Fort St. Louis in 1687 as a mere youth. He often was left in command of the post during the absence of Tonti. In spite of the fact that De Liette took a prominent role in the Illinois Country for four decades, serving as commandant from 1725 to 1729, we know little about him personally, not even his full name. We now believe that his name was "Pierre de Liette," accepting the authority of the late Aegidius Fauteaux, chief librarian of the Public Library of the City of Montreal. In a letter to Ernest E. East of Peoria, Fauteaux wrote that he had found the name affixed to the marriage act of Alphonse de Tonti and Marie Anne Lamarque in the register of Notre Dame Church in Montreal. The

De Liette was in command of Fort St. Louis with three men and the Jesuit Father, Jacques Gravier, he received a communication from Tonti at Michillimackinac giving the information about the transfer of the concession. Following this news, Tonti announced his plans to return to Illinois as soon as possible with a large band of *engagés*; then he instructed his relative to sound out the Illinois about a new location for the post, basing his instruction on suggestions previously made by the Indians, who had complained of the scarcity of wood at the Rock and of the difficulty of getting water to it. When De Liette brought this matter before the chiefs they immediately chose the lower end of Lake Peoria for the new village.⁵ Tonti arrived at this location in the winter of 1691-1692 and without delay began the construction of his fort, designed so that the Indians might retire to it for protection against attack. This new Fort St. Louis was surrounded by 1800 pickets; within this enclosure there were two large log houses—one used for lodgings, the other for a warehouse—and two other houses for use of the soldiers.⁶ In the spring of 1692, La Forest arrived with a considerable number of *engagés* and soldiers. Around this fort a few French settlers collected, forming the first permanent village in Illinois.

For seven years Tonti's post enjoyed real prosperity. During this period Pimiteoui was the center of French trading and imperial interests in a large area covering not only the territory now embraced in the state of Illinois but also an extensive region to the west and north. In 1693 two of the French traders accompanied a band of Illinois into the lands beyond the Missouri where they sought to make an alliance with the Osages and to open up new avenues of

writer added that De Liette was probably a cousin of Tonti and not a nephew. He surmised that De Liette was the son of Don Agostino de Lieto, whose sister Isabella de Lieto was the mother of Henri and Alphonse de Tonti. The name De Lieto was gallicized and changed into De Liette.

⁵ Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 326-27.

⁶ Summary given by Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818 (Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield, 1920), 100.

trade.⁷ Two years later Tonti himself made a trip to the Assiniboin tribe,⁸ then residing somewhere beyond Lake Superior. Tonti and La Forest had a practical monopoly of the trade in the upper country, at least according to the charges made by competitors who complained that the tapping of the western source of beaver furs was depressing the market.⁹ Tonti defended his position in Illinois by stressing the importance of Fort St. Louis as a barrier against the Iroquois and the English. He did use his influence to incite the Illinois against the Iroquois. When asked to give an accounting of the results of such raids, the Illinois estimated that they had killed 334 men and boys and 111 women and girls.¹⁰

Soon after the establishment of the post at Pimiteoui, Father Sebastien Rasle reported that there were eleven Indian villages with some 300 cabins, each the center of four or five family fires.¹¹ De Liette listed only six villages, namely, the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Moingwena, Coircoentanon, Tamaroa, and Tapouara. (The Cahokia, another Illinois tribe, was reported as living along the Mississippi.) In inter-village games the Peoria usually joined with the Coircoentanon against the other four, this division making a fair balance in numbers.¹² De Liette gave the number of cabins as somewhat over 260 with an average of two fires each; using this basis for calculation, he estimated the number of warriors (men aged twenty to forty) at about 800. Then he added: "You can see no finer looking people."¹³

Pimiteoui was the location of a Jesuit mission which flourished for over a decade. The first missionary was Father

⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland, 1900), LXIV: 161.

⁸ Nancy Maria (Miller) Surrey, ed., *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803* (Washington, 1926), I: 38.

⁹ Supplement to Dr. Brynner's Report on Canadian Archives by Mr. Edouard Richard, 1899 (Ottawa, 1901), 305-06.

¹⁰ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV: 5 n.

¹¹ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII: 163.

¹² Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 341-42.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 327.

Sébastien Rasle (or Rale), who arrived in the spring of 1692 shortly after the establishment of the post. He remained only two years and then was transferred to another mission. In a letter written to his brother nearly thirty years later he said little about the details of his work, although he did tell something about the customs of the Indians.¹⁴ In March, 1693, Rasle was joined by Father Jacques Gravier, who had been with the Illinois previously, but had spent the intervening time among the Oumiamis (Miamis). Shortly after Gravier's return a new chapel was opened outside the fort for the Indians; in addition, a cross nearly thirty-five feet in height was erected. On the occasion of the dedication the French soldiers participated in the ceremony by firing four volleys to impress their primitive neighbors.¹⁵ Father Gravier was quite successful in his work among the Illinois. In the first eight months of his service he baptized 206 persons.¹⁶ By 1694 he was already planning to enlarge his chapel to accommodate the growing number of converts. He admitted, however, that there was still considerable opposition to his preaching, especially among the Peoria, whose jugglers were determined to maintain their influence and power.¹⁷ A later report of the results of this mission, made in 1696 after Gravier had returned to Quebec, stated that more than 2,000 persons had been baptized in six years.¹⁸

After the departure of Father Gravier the mission was maintained by Father Julien Binneteau, who was joined by Father Gabriel Marest in 1698. Writing in 1699, Father Binneteau stated that they had three chapels, and all had recently been enlarged. From morning until night the two missionaries were kept busy by converts desiring instruction

¹⁴ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII: 132-229.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LXIV: 161. In a letter of February 15, 1694, Father Gravier told in some detail about his activities since the preceding March (*ibid.*, p. 159-237).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, LXV: 33.

and confession. The writer paid a high tribute to his colleague for his zeal and for his diligence in learning the Illinois language in a few months.¹⁹ Father Binneteau died at his post on December 24, 1699.²⁰ Father Gravier remained at Pimiteoui until the Indian settlement broke up the following year.

From other sources we get a very favorable impression of this mission. The author of the "De Gannes Memoir" wrote that the Jesuit missionaries worked hard to check the debauchery of the Indians. He mentioned also the opposition of the medicine men, who constantly heaped abuse on the Jesuit fathers and even threatened their lives. He concluded that the missionaries must have been saints indeed to carry on their work as they did in such an atmosphere of opposition.²¹ In 1698 Father Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, belonging to the rival Quebec Seminary of Foreign Missions, stopped for a visit while on a trip down the Illinois River. He was very favorably impressed by the mission work which he observed.²²

Father Gravier's favorite convert was seventeen year old Marie Aramipinchicoue, about whom the priest wrote at great length in an appealing human interest story.²³ Marie had an intense religious fervor which was in utter contrast to the inconstancy of most of the other Illinois converts. She underwent a terrific soul struggle before she consented to marry the Frenchman Michael Accault (usually referred to as Sieur Abo or Aco), a match that was being promoted by her father, a chief of the Kaskaskias. Marie was resolved never to marry, desiring above all to belong wholly to Jesus Christ. Her father, convinced that the black gown was setting his daughter against his plans, then made every effort

¹⁹ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXV: 71.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 263.

²¹ Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 361-63.

²² John Gilmary Shea, ed., *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi by Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas* (Albany, 1861), 59-60.

²³ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV: 193-229.

to hamper the work of the mission. In addition to this opposition Father Gravier also had to bear the insults and calumnies of the commandant of the fort. Young Marie finally decided that by submitting to the desires of her parents she might induce them to listen to the priest. She hoped that after her marriage she could win her husband, who had been, according to Gravier, notorious in Illinois for his debaucheries. A short time later Sieur Aco admitted to Father Gravier that he no longer recognized himself; he attributed his conversion to his wife's prayers and exhortations, and to her example. She also won her parents to her religion and she helped them to walk in the Christian way.

This young unlettered Indian girl became a valuable assistant to Gravier, leading large numbers of women and children to confession and often gathering new converts into her home for instruction. It is interesting to note that the first entry in the baptismal records of the mission among the Illinois, dated March 20, 1692, recorded the baptism of Peter Aco, son of Michael Aco and Marie Aramipinchicoue.²⁴ In passing, it might be noted that Sieur Aco was one of the proprietors of the Illinois concession. On April 19, 1693, La Forest sold half of his interest in the concession to Aco for 6,000 livres in beaver.²⁵

One historic religious event which occurred at Pimiteoui was the celebration of the first High Mass in Illinois. This took place in 1698 on the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (November 21).²⁶ The occasion was the visit at the Jesuit mission of the party of Quebec Seminary priests, already mentioned. Participating in this ceremony were Father Gabriel Marest, Father Julien Binneteau, and Father François Pinet, all of the Jesuit order; also Father François

²⁴ "Kaskaskia Church Records," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, 1904), 395. A later entry tells of the baptism of another son, Michael, born in 1702.

²⁵ Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 264-66.

²⁶ Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 60; Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Catholic First Things in the United States," *Mid-America* (April, 1939), XXI: 122.

de Montigny, superior of the Quebec Seminary of Foreign Missions, and two of his fellow missionary priests, Father Antoine Davion and Father Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme.²⁷

French influence at Pimiteoui flourished for seven years. The prosperity of the post there was brought to an end by a reversal of imperial policies made by the government of the "Grand Monarch," Louis XIV. Prior to this change, which was made in 1696, the authorities at Paris had tried to regulate Indian trading by a system of permits and concessions, carefully limited in number. Governmental regulation of this trade, however, proved impossible to enforce because of the lawless nature of the *coureurs de bois*, who were able to disregard with relative impunity the mandates of distant authority. The Catholic missionary priests in particular were strongly opposed to this trading system because of the mistreatment and exploitation to which the Indians were subjected at the hands of profit-seeking Frenchmen. The evidence at hand indicates that Tonti had a much better record in this respect than most of his fellow traders. Tonti appears to have been a faithful soldier of his king, and as such he was an agent of French imperial policy; his trading activities occupied a secondary role—at least in the perspective of history. In the long war which Governor Frontenac of New France waged against the Iroquois, Tonti took time off from his personal affairs to give whatever assistance he could, and he used all his influence to incite the Illinois against the Six Nations.²⁸ He did not, however, escape the criticism which was directed at the traders as a class.²⁹ Tonti mentioned the hostility of the Jesuits, which he attributed to the aid he had given to the Quebec Seminary, a rival missionary order.³⁰

²⁷ A memorial tablet at St. Mary's Cathedral, Peoria, records this historic event.

²⁸ "Cadillac Papers," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (Lansing, 1904), XXXIII: 48.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁰ Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 64. Tonti served as guide for the Seminary priests who visited Pimiteoui in 1698. St. Cosme, writing the story of this trip

Shortly after 1690 the French imperial party, represented in America by Governor Frontenac, began to lose favor at court to the clerical group. Economic considerations played a part in this shift of political influence. A royal memorial of 1694 to Frontenac spoke of the dissatisfaction felt regarding the conditions of western trade, referring especially to the abuses of the license system. The price of beaver skins had fallen greatly, resulting in heavy financial losses to the farmers of revenue; the home market was glutted with furs, apparently caused, according to the memorial, by the trading of Tonti and La Forest. The Governor was instructed that these two partners should not be permitted to monopolize the trade of the upper country.³¹ Two years later the French government decided to revoke all trading licenses.³² The Indians were to be encouraged to bring their furs directly to Montreal; moreover, only furs of good quality should be accepted. The Governor of Canada was also instructed to abandon, at least temporarily, all the western posts except those in Illinois. Although Tonti and La Forest were exempted from this ordinance they were prohibited from carrying on trade in beaver skins, and they were permitted to send to Illinois only two canoes annually, with the necessary number of men to navigate them, "on condition, however, that these do not exceed the number of twelve; and this until further order, and until it please his Majesty to direct otherwise."³³ The French government was willing to have the western posts maintained on condition that the soldiers be

through the West, expressed a very high opinion of Tonti. "I cannot," he wrote, "express our obligations to him; he guided us as far as the Akansas and gave us much pleasure on the way. He facilitated our course through several nations, winning us the friendship of some and intimidating those who from jealousy or a desire of plunder had wished to oppose our voyage; he has not only done the duty of a brave man, but also discharged the functions of a zealous missionary. He quieted the minds of our employees in the little vagaries that they might have; he supported us by his example in the exercises of devotion which the voyage permitted us to perform, very often approaching the sacraments." (Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 47).

³¹ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 305-06.

³² *Ibid.*, 317. It was then estimated that the surplus of beaver furs could not be sold in less than ten years.

³³ O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents, New York Colonial History*, IX: 700.

prevented from trading.³⁴ This provision, however, could not be enforced. It was thereupon decided that no Frenchmen, except missionaries, should be permitted to remain in the upper country.³⁵

In spite of this peremptory order Tonti and La Forest maintained their post for several years longer.³⁶ The evidence at hand indicates that the two partners continued their trading operations in Illinois until at least 1703. Hearing rumors of the situation, the government at Paris, in a royal memorial of May, 1702, to the Governor of New France, stated that the King was pleased to have the proprietors enjoy what had been granted to them, but on condition that they respect the resolutions regarding trade³⁷—a seemingly ironic grant of permission since the only value of the post was in the doing of what was expressly forbidden. A short time later the Governor wrote that, according to reports reaching him, agents of Tonti and La Forest were at Fort St. Louis carrying on an extensive trade, although legally permitted to buy only small furs.³⁸ He added that he would check on these reports and if they should be confirmed, he would suspend the privileges already granted.³⁹ When the authorities at Paris received this information they replied with a memorial requesting La Forest to reside in Canada near the headquarters of the company; instructions were sent for the employment of Tonti in the lower Mississippi region.⁴⁰ (Tonti did go to Louisiana, where he died in September, 1704.) Yet even after the departure of the two partners, the Peoria post was maintained for some time by De Liette.

³⁴ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 326.

³⁵ *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII: 73-74.

³⁶ It is interesting to note that in a communication to his home government, written Oct. 19, 1697, Governor Frontenac stated that Fort St. Louis had already been abandoned (Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 41). Also, Daniel Coxe, an Englishman, made a trip up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers in 1698 but said nothing about this fort, although he did make a passing reference to Fort Crevecoeur (Daniel Coxe, "A Description of the English Province of Carolina, . . ." in B. F. French, ed., *Historical Collections of Louisiana* [Philadelphia, 1850], Part II: 231).

³⁷ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 360.

³⁸ *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXXIII: 157.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 367.

A justification can be found for the manner in which Tonti and La Forest disregarded the royal prohibitions on trade. The regulations in effect nullified the value of the concession. Moreover, the proprietors had expended large sums of money on their concession, going deeply into debt.⁴¹ They did make claims for indemnity for their losses but their pleas were fruitless during the lifetime of Louis XIV.⁴²

The concentration of the Illinois tribes at Pimiteoui broke up with the decline of the fur trading enterprise. This Indian nation no longer had the fighting power which it had possessed a generation earlier. The English traveler, Daniel Coxe, wrote that the Illinois, once a people of 20,000 warriors, had been almost completely destroyed by the Iroquois.⁴³ For this reason several of the tribes chose to remove from their homeland in central Illinois, seeking a new region where they would be less exposed to attacks from their more savage neighbors. In 1700, when Father Gravier returned to his old mission after an absence of four years, he found the Kaskaskias preparing to remove to the Mississippi Valley below St. Louis. Sad at heart to see such a separation of the Illinois tribes, which he thought he might have prevented had he arrived earlier, he could do nothing except to calm the animosities between the different groups. Father Marest followed the Kaskaskias to their new home near the mouth of the stream which has taken its name from them. The Peorias, left without a missionary, promised Father Gravier

⁴¹ Alphonse de Tonti, writing to his father on Oct. 13, 1700, wrote as follows: "My brother had to go down to the sea to have a conference with him [Iberville], but I have not yet learned the result of their conference. From the little I have heard, it would not seem that there was any project formed; at the same time the only fruit thereof has been expenditure of money to no purpose, having also the chagrin of seeing himself supplanted in an enterprise that was his by right on account of all the fatigues and difficulties that he has suffered in his frequent voyages. He is more in debt than when he went to the country. And if the court does not take some notice of his services I do not know what will become of him. Affairs in this colony are very bad; there is no resource for honest folk since the abolition of the permits to trade." Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 110-11.

⁴² Mention should be made of the fact that on Sept. 19, 1698, Tonti donated half of his share to his brother Alphonse, then commandant at Michillimackinac. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VI (Oct., 1923), 578.

⁴³ *Hist. Coll. of Louisiana*, Part II: 231.

that they would preserve their church and would await his return to them. Gravier commented that he did not expect these promises to be kept.⁴⁴

The Peoria region never regained its early prominence, although a French settlement was maintained there—probably not continuously—until it was uprooted by American militia troops in 1812. The new center of French influence in Illinois was established in the Mississippi Valley region not far from the modern metropolis of St. Louis. With the shifting of river traffic from the Illinois to the Ohio and Wabash, Lake Peoria lost its strategic importance to the French as a link in the line of communication between Canada and Illinois. Thereafter Pimiteoui maintained only a shadowy connection with the French regime which was centered at the village of Kaskaskia.

Father Gravier did return to the Peorias as he had promised them he would do. Little is known about his work with this people, but it seems that his labors were without much fruit. His life there in the wilderness was very lonely for he later wrote that he had been alone most of the time, "without a colleague, without a companion, often even without a servant."⁴⁵ Gravier's work in the mission was brought to an end in 1706 by an attack on his life. One of the prominent men among the Peorias, hostile to the French, aroused his people against the "black gown" and the other Frenchmen residing in the village. In this atmosphere of hostility a man who bore a personal grudge against Father Gravier assaulted the priest, inflicting a severe wound in the arm, all the more serious because the arrowhead became stuck in the sinews near the joint of the elbow. For three months Gravier suffered terribly from his festering wound, not permitted to leave or even to send out word of his condition, while receiving little assistance or sympathy from the savages. Finally Father Mermet, then with the

⁴⁴ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXV: 103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVI: 123.

Kaskaskias, heard of the plight of his colleague and he sent several of his converts to rescue the stricken priest. Again, before his departure with his rescuers, Gravier's life was threatened by a hostile band of Peorias but the mob was dispersed by a friendly chief. Father Gravier was taken first to the Kaskaskia village, and then to Mobile for further treatment.⁴⁶ Later he went across the sea to his homeland to recuperate; he returned to America but died not long afterwards from the effects of his neglected injury.

As for the trading post at Pimiteoui, it underwent the same vicissitudes that befell the mission. As has already been mentioned, De Liette remained at Fort St. Louis after both Tonti and La Forest had been ordered elsewhere. Little is known about his activities during these years, probably because he was engaging in an illegal trade. The presence of Frenchmen at Pimiteoui is mentioned by Father Marest in his account of the attack on Father Gravier; the only man specifically named was St. Michel, the blacksmith,⁴⁷ who may have been the only one on terms of friendship with Gravier. The same disaffection which caused the attack on Father Gravier forced De Liette and his men to leave. In 1705 a French soldier was murdered by the Peorias. The Governor of New France thereupon ordered De Liette to bring the head men of the tribe to Montreal. Several chiefs did start the journey to Canada, but at Michillimackinac they mutinied and deserted the party; after reaching their home village they stirred up their people against the French. Then followed the attack on Gravier.⁴⁸ Thereupon, in retaliation, the French broke off all intercourse with the hostile tribe. In letters written in 1706 La Forest told about the departure from Fort St. Louis of both De Liette and Father Gravier.⁴⁹

Four years later La Forest, then commandant at Detroit,

⁴⁶ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI: 51-63.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 59, 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-55.

⁴⁹ Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 121, 125.

requested permission to use his post on the Illinois.⁵⁰ The evidence at hand does not indicate what action was taken on this request, but it appears that the fort was reoccupied with the tacit consent of the government. Father Marest spoke of French traders engaged in a secret trade with the Peorias in 1711. When he visited this tribe in that year he found a number of Frenchmen at Lake Peoria, apparently residing with the Indians; unfortunately for the historian, he gave no details about these men.⁵¹ In 1713 the Governor of New France was instructed to abandon the La Forest-Tonti fort. At the same time he was asked to determine the facts regarding the Illinois property alleged to have been granted to the two traders—which request was promoted by La Forest's persistent claims for damages caused by the abolition of western fur trading.⁵²

The French had little contact with the Peoria Indians during the years following the death of Gravier. The bad treatment received by the Jesuit priest prompted the governors of Canada and Louisiana to forbid all trading with this fickle tribe. Some of the Christian converts among the Peorias did come to the Kaskaskia mission for spiritual consolation and guidance from Father Marest. A few years later Marest learned (from French traders who had engaged in illegal trade with the tribe) that the Peorias had repented of their hostility and were eager to have the old mission reopened—which change of heart may have been induced by recent defeats in battle caused by lack of powder, as the priest himself suggested. Early in 1711 Father Marest paid a visit to the village, where he was shown every courtesy by the chiefs and the people, all of whom seemed eager to make amends for past misbehavior. He decided to reopen the mission. To this wilderness post he sent Father Jean Marie de

⁵⁰ Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 160; *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 225.

⁵¹ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI: 267-79.

⁵² Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 186.

Ville, a newcomer in the Illinois Country.⁵³ No further information is available about the Peoria mission, but it is known that Father de Ville remained in the Illinois Country for some time, and the evidence suggests that he remained at Pimiteoui until at least 1715.⁵⁴

The drastic restrictions on French trade with the Indians were abandoned after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. The French officials in Canada had always opposed the restrictive policy, contending that the operations of the fur traders were essential to the welfare of the colony, and that the Indians could always trade with the British, who would dispense Protestant heresy with their whiskey. In 1716 the French government authorized the granting of twenty-five trading permits. Three years later, however, the fur trade was made a monopoly of the new Company of the West.⁵⁵

The post at Pimiteoui was one of three in the West at which Indian trading was to be permitted—the other two being Michillimackinac and Detroit.⁵⁶ The reopening of trade on the Illinois nearly coincided with the military occupation of the old fort. The French and their Indian allies were then engaged in a long struggle with the hostile Foxes, who were endeavoring to oust the Illinois from their homeland. As early as 1713 the French government determined to destroy this tribe; then followed nearly two decades of intermittent warfare before the Foxes were finally crushed. In 1715 the Governor of New France decided to re-establish the old fort on the Illinois as a barrier to the enemy, and to this post he sent De Liette with a sergeant and a band of eight soldiers.⁵⁷ Little is known about the French activities at Lake Peoria during this brief reoccupation. French docu-

⁵³ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI: 267-91.

⁵⁴ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *French Regime in Wisconsin* (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, Madison, 1902), 303, 311, 317, 318, 325.

⁵⁵ Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 148-49.

⁵⁶ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 496.

⁵⁷ *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVI: 327-33; also, William R. Riddell, "References to Illinois in French-Canadian Official Documents," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIII (July, 1930), 202, 203.

ments make mention of repairs being made to the fort.⁵⁸ Other references indicate that the war with the Foxes interfered with trading.⁵⁹ Then came the abolition of the permit system in 1719 and the absorption of all trading by the Company of the West. Thereupon the Fort St. Louis garrison was ordered to return to Montreal.⁶⁰ The fort was finally abandoned in 1720 during a short period of truce on the western frontier; on military grounds the action was justified by the contention that the post was useless in peacetime.⁶¹ A year later when Charlevoix, Jesuit writer and traveler, made a journey down the Illinois River he stopped at the Peoria village and visited with four French Canadians, but in his account he made no mention of the fort.⁶²

Meanwhile, La Forest and the Tonti heirs were pressing claims for damages alleged to have been sustained in the forced abandonment of Fort St. Louis. After the accession of Louis XV and the subsequent change in policy regarding western trading, these claims were given a new hearing.⁶³ Following the death of La Forest his widow was untiring in pushing her case before the Paris authorities. Finally in 1722 the French Council, after studying documents of the expenditures actually made at Pimiteoui, agreed to pay Mme de la Forest 1500 livres, which was half the sum granted to the Tonti heirs.⁶⁴ The payment of this indemnity brought to an end one phase of the history of French Peoria. The extinguishment of the Tonti-La Forest claim left Pimiteoui as a no-man's land for anyone who chose to occupy it.

⁵⁸ Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 217.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁶⁰ ANC, C¹¹A, 40: 50-67v. Photostat in the Library of Congress.

⁶¹ Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 332; *Report Concerning Canadian Archives*, 1904 (Ottawa, 1905), Appendix K, p. 27.

⁶² Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), II: 197-213.

⁶³ *Supplement, Canadian Archives*, 1899, 508.

⁶⁴ *Canadian Archives*, 1904, Supplement K, p. 36. For references to the improvements made at Fort St. Louis by Tonti and La Forest, see Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives*, I: 383, 384.

THE ITALIANS COME TO HERRIN

BY DOLORES M. MANFREDINI

THE latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries saw a great immigration of people from Italy to various parts of the United States. Many Italians settled in Illinois. In the southern part of the state, by far the largest number of these people located at Herrin in Williamson County where they became an important foreign element in that city.

A majority of the Italians in Herrin came from Cuggiono, a little town near Milan, Italy.¹ One might ask why these people left their homeland. Several reasons could be given. Perhaps most of them left Italy because of the widespread belief that in America any man could better himself and become very prosperous in time. At that time, two main occupations in Italy were silk manufacturing and farming.² The silk factories provided employment for children and women at wages ranging from only two to three cents a day. Farming was done on a large scale, but most of the farms were owned by landlords who demanded high rent and a large portion of the peasants' crops, leaving practically nothing for these laborers to live on during the following winter.

Realizing the meager existence of their parents, some young men decided to leave their homeland and come to the United States. These Italians secured passage to America by borrowing money from friends, by stowing away on ships, or by "working out" their passage while making the voyage.

¹ Testimony of Monsignor Robert DeGasperi, pastor of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Herrin, Ill., July 16, 1944.

² Testimony of Emanuel M. Cornaghi, merchant in Herrin, Ill., July 15, 1944.

Cuggiono immigrants, after landing in New York, usually paused somewhere to work, then after a few months' employment journeyed to another state. Gradually a small number of these Italians arrived at Pilot, Missouri, where they were employed by the Big Muddy Coal and Iron Company. This company was opening new coal mines throughout southern Illinois, and in 1892 it sent a group of men to a mine at Fredonia,³ which was one of the early coal mines in Williamson County. Italians were already present at Fredonia in such numbers in 1889 that the post office there was given the name of Dago on June 26 of that year. The name Fredonia was resumed, however, a few months later.⁴ Other Italians came from Indiana.⁵ But the coal mine at Fredonia was soon abandoned and in 1897 the miners began drifting to Herrin where new mines were being sunk by this same company. In 1898 these coal mines also brought to Herrin a large number of Italians who had resided in Murphysboro, in neighboring Jackson County.

This immigration into Herrin at first brought only men. Some of the new settlers were married, but had left their wives at home in Italy until they found employment in the United States. Others had not yet married. However, the years 1900 to 1907⁶ saw a number of young girls from Italy coming to America to marry. In 1907 twenty-seven marriages were solemnized at St. Mary's Catholic Church. Typical of the arrival of these young women in Herrin was the scene described below:

There was much jabbering and many fond embracings at the I. C. station Wednesday morning when Bryan's train⁷ pulled in. The excitement was all caused by the arrival from Cuggioni [*sic*], Italy, of six

³ Fredonia is known today as Cambria, Ill.

⁴ Barbara Burr Hubbs, *Pioneer Folks and Places; An Historic Gazetteer of Williamson County, Illinois* (Herrin, Ill., 1939), 131.

⁵ Testimony of Fred W. Richarr, Carterville, Ill., July 18, 1944.

⁶ Church records, St. Mary's Catholic Church, Herrin, Ill.

⁷ "Bryan's Train" was the name given to an Illinois Central train which came into Herrin daily. This train received its name from the conductor, Billy Bryan, who was quite famous throughout southern Illinois. This train was in existence as early as 1899. In 1909, Billy Bryan, through some unexplained reason, lost his job with the railroad company.

women and young ladies. Three of the women came over to meet husbands and the other three came to meet sweethearts to whom they will be married Saturday.⁸

Some young men, after making a little fortune (for them), returned to Italy and found wives there, while others secured the addresses of young maidens in Italy, wrote to them, and frequently married in this country. This type of marriage is illustrated by a report in the *Herrin News*:

Among the arrivals was Miss Josephine Marlow of Casteletto Italy who comes to be married to Tony Marlow of this city. There is a little romance in the background of this intended wedding. Tony never saw his intended bride until she stepped from the cars here this week, although they have carried on correspondence for a long time exchanging photographs occasionally. Tony got hold of the address of this Italian maid from a friend and their friendship letters soon passed into the realms of love. The marriage will likely take place at the Catholic church Saturday.⁹

These weddings were often great festivities. A band was employed to play and usually a hall was rented where guests were invited to share in the celebration which included eating, drinking, and dancing. A reporter wrote in 1905:

Last Saturday was a wedding day among the Italians in this city. Two prominent couples were married and the occasions following were such festivities as would rival the big gala days in the old country. At the home of the bride, Miss Susie, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bart Colombo was married to Orfeo Calcaterra, who tends bar at the Old Rome Club Saloon. Father Bernard Hilgenberg of Carbon-dale was present and officiated. In the afternoon Colombo's Hall was thrown open to the guests who were at the wedding, and the occasion was celebrated in Italian fashion. There was dancing and drinking until a late hour. Jos. Viggian's string band of Chicago furnished the music.¹⁰

Most of the Italians were miners. Until these men married, they were quite satisfied with such employment. But after they had the responsibilities of a family some men found miners' wages quite inadequate, and as a result many turned to different occupations. Some were employed by the

⁸ *Herrin News*, July 26, 1907.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1905.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1905.

city. Others who had been taught a trade while in Italy resumed that occupation in Herrin. For example, Victor Cardani, who learned masonry from his father, came to Herrin and soon began contracting for buildings there. Alex Ruggeri, who operated a bakery in Herrin, had learned the art of making Italian breads and pastries as an itinerant baker in Italy. Louis Parotti, who built many splendid buildings in Herrin, as well as in Miami, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, acquired a knowledge of masonry from his family. Caesar and Joseph Miriani, who today operate a shoe shop in Herrin, received their training from an uncle while they were still boys in Italy.

Other places of business opened by Italians in Herrin were the Dell'Era Opera House, Gualdoni and Gualdoni Wholesale Company, Biotti's Oyster House, Hippodrome Theatre, Taveggia's Confectionery, Maurizio's Confectionery, Palladino's Cleaning Establishment, Chiadini Bakery, European Hotel, Spezia's Confectionery, Moroni's Bakery, Lombard Society Store, Oldani's Clothing Store, Cornaghi's Furniture Exchange, Moroni's Ice House, and Malandrone's Bakery.

One type of business of which Herrin had a plentiful supply was the saloon. Many of them were operated by Italians and, despite protests, these beer parlors kept growing in number. In the *Herrin News* of October 19, 1906, the following item was printed:

Galli and Montani recently purchased the lot on South Jackson street just north across the street from the Karnes house. The building now standing on the lot will be removed and a new building put up. The firm think that they will open a saloon in the building adding another "thirst parlor" to the city's already supplied industry.¹¹

As more and more Italians kept coming into Herrin, several prominent leaders decided to organize the Italians into societies. These organizations assumed different names, but were conducted for similar purposes. Besides providing

¹¹ *Herrin News*, Oct. 19, 1906.

recreation, the groups were benefit societies. Probably one of the earliest of these associations was the Lombard Society of Mutual Assistance which was set up in 1892 at Murphysboro. This society took its name from the fact that most of its members came from the province of Lombardy in Italy. However, in 1898 the club was moved to Herrin, since most of the Italians in Murphysboro had settled there. This same organization in 1903 opened a store that was known as the Lombard Society Store. It is still in existence and attributes its success to the fact that it is a co-operative enterprise.

Another organization which started as a mutual co-operative society was the Rome Club, founded in 1899. Its original name was the Rome Saloon, but in 1909 its present name was assumed and it became a corporation. The original members of the organization were given a share of stock in the new corporation, and provision was made that this could be handed down to their sons. The Rome Club today is a gathering place for the Italians in Herrin.

Three societies which were chartered for the purpose of aiding their members during times of illness and death were the Guiseppe Garibaldi Society, founded in 1904; the Foresters of America—Court Christoforo Colombo—No. 38, founded in 1901; and the Companions of the Foresters—Columbia Circle—No. 1194 founded in 1919.

If a family was not connected with any of these societies, however, and an illness or death occurred, the Italians did not hesitate in aiding their fellow countrymen. This co-operation is probably one of the greatest traits of these people. The *Herrin News* reported a typical example in 1906:

Talk about a benefit for a sick man—there was certainly nothing short with the Italian benefit dance given in the Christoforo Colombo Circolo Club room Saturday night for Giovanni Rinaldo, who has been sick for many weeks and was in great need of help from his brother coal diggers. The proceeds were \$225. There was a good turn out and many Americans, who were friends of Rinaldo, were there.¹²

¹² *Herrin News*, Dec. 7, 1906.

These organizations were not only benefit societies but also social clubs. Most of them sponsored a picnic or dance once a year. An item in the *Herrin News* announced one of these affairs as follows:

On October 12, Court Christoforo Colombo, No. 38, Foresters of America, will hold their annual celebration at 2 o'clock P.M. King Humbert's band, preceded by Mayor John Herrin and the city council, will lead the parade. The members will be out in costumes. The celebration is to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus. All local lodges are cordially invited to join in the parade. The ceremonies of the day will be followed by a private dance at the hall at 7 P.M.¹³

There were several days in the year which required gala celebrations for the Italians in Herrin. One of these was Columbus Day. The celebration was conducted under the auspices of affiliated Italian societies in Herrin. This day was an outstanding event of the year, as evidenced by the following newspaper report:

Preparations are being made for a big day here Thursday of next week—Columbus Day. In no other city in southern Illinois will such a large celebration be attempted as is planned to be held here. The schools will be dismissed on that day and it is not likely that any of the mines in this vicinity will blow for work. It will be a general holiday, and the weather permitting, a large crowd of out-of-town people are expected to gather here The speaking exercises will be held at the opera house in the afternoon. It is expected to have present many noted labor leaders and public officials. Miss Anna Eovaldi has been selected as queen of the carnival Guido Spagnolina, a veteran balloon maker from Italy, is preparing to build one of the largest and most gorgeously illuminated paper balloons ever sent up in this county. He is planning one twenty-five feet high and decorated with 500 candles. As the balloon ascends and gets up four or five hundred feet, the candles that festoon it become detached and drop to the earth like shooting meteors. Many people will remember the brilliant ascension here two years ago on the night of Columbus Day. Sig. Spagnolina made that one. He competed in a balloon-making contest in Florence, Italy, in 1898 when the great cathedral was remodeled and a grand *festa* commemorating the occasion was held. Balloon makers from all portions of central Italy took part in that contest, and he won first place. His large balloon made for Columbus Day will be a duplicate of the one with which he won the first prize at the Florence

¹³ *Herrin News*, Sept. 29, 1905.

festival. Two smaller balloons, papier maché, will be sent up. At a meeting of the committee Saturday, Louis Oldani was instructed to go to St. Louis and purchase regalia and paraphernalia that will be used for the parade. It will be a brilliant and historical pageant. The streets of Herrin will resemble a festival day of the 16th century. There will be men in armour, mounted horsemen, courtiers, cavaliers, fifteenth century sailors, floats resembling the old sailing vessels in which Columbus and his men crossed the Atlantic.¹⁴

The celebration of Columbus Day in such splendor came to an end in 1912 when a small boy, a non-Italian by the way, was injured during the fireworks display,¹⁵ and suit was brought against the Columbus Day Committee.

These celebrations were widely recognized. The observance of Columbus Day in 1912 saw the following people scheduled as speakers of the day: Senator W. O. Potter of Marion, who was the author of the Columbus Day bill in the Illinois legislature and was responsible for observation of that date as a legal holiday, and Professor Evristo Ghidoni, who represented the Italian consul.¹⁶

One group which was present at practically every function and celebration of any importance in Herrin for several years was King Humbert's Band. In 1900 a group of forty-two men who were musically inclined decided to form this band. The name adopted by this group was in honor of the then reigning king of Italy. When personalities worthy of recognition came to Herrin, this band was present at the depot to welcome them. Weddings, funerals, picnics, and other gatherings were not complete without it. At the death of one of its members the band always played at the funeral. The year 1906 saw the dissolution of the band, as most of the members had married and were unable to play at functions when needed.

Later, the sons of these Italians banded themselves into a social organization known as the "Old Gang." The origi-

¹⁴ *Herrin News*, Oct. 5, 1911.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1912.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

nal group consisted of twenty members, and met every New Year's Eve.

In 1913 a group of six young men who had reached the age of twenty decided to revive, symbolically, an old Italian custom which provided that every male who attained the age of twenty must report for military service to the King. Every New Year's Day in Italy saw a gala celebration honoring those who were to report that year. To gain admittance to this organization in Herrin, called the Class of 1893, the applicant had to be born in the year 1893.¹⁷

Catholicism was the dominant religion of these people, and in 1900 the Reverend Bernard Hilgenberg was asked to come to Herrin to start a Catholic Church. Mass was celebrated in a little building called the town hall until March, 1901, when construction was started on the new church. The dedication of the new building took place in August, 1901. Dignitaries of the church and Catholics from Murphysboro and Carbondale were met at the train by the King Humbert Band, and the festivities began with a parade to the new church. In 1913 the Reverend Father Hilgenberg went to Europe because of ill health and the Reverend Emirgildo Senese was appointed as his successor. Probably the most important year of Father Senese's tenure was 1924-1925, when plans were drawn up for erecting a new St. Mary's Church. This beautiful replica of Lombardic architecture of the thirteenth century was completed in 1925. An automobile accident in 1929 caused Father Senese to ask for a successor, and in 1932 Monsignor Robert DeGasperi was appointed. Under his supervision a new school has been built and St. Carlo's Catholic Cemetery has been purchased.

The Italians who came to Herrin were eager to learn the English language, as is shown by this paragraph in the *Herrin News*:

An English-Italian night school was started in this city Wednesday evening, when Mrs. Jennie Lawson, one of the school teachers at the

¹⁷ Testimony of John V. Oldani, Herrin, Ill., July 15, 1944.

northside building opened a school at her home at the corner of Tyler and Dearborn Sts. Two years ago she had a large school of Italians who flocked to her house eager to learn to speak the English language. Many of the foreigners from Italy upon their arrival are unable to get the hang of English until they have spent many months here, but they are all willing students.¹⁸

These people were mindful of the fact that their children should also learn to speak English and as a result, in 1912, a Catholic parochial school was built next to the Catholic church. The two teachers employed were Miss Bertha Bahr of Chester and Miss Anna Venegoni of Herrin.

In 1909, after much demand for an Italian newspaper in Herrin, three sample issues were published. The paper was named *La Tribuna Italiana*, and it was ably edited by John Ferrando. How well this paper was received is revealed by the following report in the *Herrin News*:

The first issue of the new Italian paper, *La Tribuna Italiana*, appeared Saturday, and was received with much joy among the Italian residents of this city and vicinity, where it was distributed gratis. The Italians had been anxiously awaiting its appearance for several weeks and were very eager to get hold of a copy of the first Italian newspaper ever published in this end of Illinois . . . The leading and wealthiest Italians of the city are pledging their support to *La Tribuna*, and feel in that this is the most prosperous Italian colony in the Middle West, that they ought to be able to support a newspaper published in their native language just as German communities throughout this land have their own publications.¹⁹

The editions of *La Tribuna Italiana* were well filled with advertisements of home merchants and professional men. All advertisements were printed in Italian, and merchants were eager to point out that Italian clerks were employed in their stores. Notices of deaths, weddings, and elections appeared in this paper. The first issue of *La Tribuna* carried an editorial telling the Italians the purpose of the paper, and the services that would be rendered by such a publication, and urged all Italians to subscribe to this paper. However, after the first three issues, the enthusiasm waned and the paper was not

¹⁸ *Herrin News*, Oct. 6, 1905.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1909.

continued because the cost of publication was too high. Also, no Italian printers who could set type for the paper were available. It is regrettable that *La Tribuna Italiana* did not survive, as it might have been a good source of information about the Herrin Italians.

Did this colony produce any great leaders? Two men who gained considerable recognition among the Italians in Herrin were Bart Colombo and Louis Dell'Era. The latter, who was the originator of the Columbus Day celebration in Herrin, became a director of several banks in the city, and was one of the founders of the Lombard Society. He served as president of that organization for seven years. Through the co-operation of both Louis Dell'Era and Bart Colombo the Catholic Church in Herrin was started in 1901. Colombo was also an outstanding political leader of the Italians and exerted a strong influence over them in their voting.

As the Italians in Herrin accumulated money, some returned to their native land. A small number of them had found it difficult to adjust themselves to American customs, and as a result went back to Italy to make their homes. Others stayed there only long enough to visit relatives and friends. In 1906, one newspaper declared:

Loui [*sic*] Dell'Era who is agent for the principal steamship lines, says that the passenger traffic to Italy now is enormous. On Wednesday of last week he sold fifteen tickets to Italy, Saturday eight and Monday six. There are many more who will leave within the next two weeks. All of those that go intend to return as soon as the mines start up. They are making, some of them, their first visit back to their native land.²⁰

But the outbreak of World War I found only a few Herrin people remaining in Italy, since most of them had returned to the United States.²¹

That great conflict found the Italians in Herrin responding to their country's call. A total of ninety-six Italian men are veterans of that war. Those who remained at home also

²⁰ *Herrin News*, April 20, 1906.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1914.

did their share of patriotic work. An account of Williamson County's activities in that war relates:

When in May, 1918, Italian Day was observed by the order of President Wilson, through the untiring efforts of Father Senese, the anniversary of the third year of Italy's entrance in the war was most splendidly celebrated. There were 400 parochial school children in the parade and Father Senese's "petit bataillon" consisting of twenty-eight little soldier boys between the ages of five and seven years, all dressed in khaki and shouldering a little gun brought forth much comment. In the drive for the Y.M.C.A., also K. of C., and other war organizations, the Catholic congregation gave a splended example of unprejudiced support, but in the drives for the Red Cross, St. Mary's Church, with the example of the pastor at the head was always in the first line and even the parochial school children set a wonderful record in Herrin when fully one hundred per cent became members of the organization. These good little children, whenever necessary and called upon, were always ready to respond very liberally. They helped in the sale of Liberty Bonds, in the purchasing of War Saving Stamps, in collecting old clothes for the Red Cross work, in aiding the poor Armenians, in adopting war orphans, French children, etc., and even gave exhibitions of fancy work made in the school which were sold and the proceeds were gladly and cheerfully handed to the local Chapter of the Red Cross.

On one Liberty Loan Sunday, after Father Senese had spoken on the duty of every Catholic to stand by the Stars and Stripes and of the necessity of helping the government in the hour of need, both children and young people, at the door of the church in less than an hour had solicited subscriptions to the amount of \$10,000.00. Everyone in Herrin can testify to the loyalty and patriotism both of the pastor and the people of St. Mary's Church and school, during the whole period of the war.²²

World War II has seen no change in the patriotic attitude of the Herrin Italians. All have answered wholeheartedly to the War Loan Drives conducted in Herrin. During the Fourth War Loan Drive, the children of St. Mary's Catholic School solicited subscriptions to the amount of \$24,000.²³

Many Italian men who are veterans of World War I today have sons fighting in all parts of the world. The Honor

²² Hal W. Trovillion, ed., *Williamson County Illinois in the World War* (Herrin, 1919), 107.

²³ Testimony of Monsignor Robert De Gaspari, pastor of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Herrin, Ill.

Roll in St. Mary's Catholic Church lists more than two hundred Italian men in the armed forces. Of this number, four had been killed in action by September 1, 1944.

A large number of the Italians in Herrin are today employed in war industries. Many men are mining coal in nearby communities, while women work at the Illinois Ordnance Plant located near Herrin. Other women have enrolled in the Red Cross and are always eager and ready when called upon for duty. The patriotism and loyalty of these people is beyond question.

In summarizing the influence of the Herrin Italians, it might be observed that as a class they are honest, frugal, and industrious. Most of them have progressed economically and the culture of the city of Herrin is richer because of their organizations, *fèstas*, and religious and business activities.

FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE CHICAGO Y.M.C.A.

A Study In Urban History

BY F. ROGER DUNN

ONE of the major agencies of religious and philanthropic activity in our rapidly growing, mid-nineteenth-century cities was the Young Men's Christian Association. This organization appeared in almost every large city of the United States in the decade preceding the Civil War. In the following generation, while many similar societies came and went, the Y.M.C.A. adapted its services to the evolving needs of urban communities in ways sufficiently useful to insure its permanence. The emergence of local associations in all the larger cities was the outcome of much the same conditions, and they developed a common program of activities. A study of the beginnings of the one in Chicago, therefore, should provide a chapter in the social history of that city and, at the same time, suggest a typical aspect of urban history throughout the country.

Fundamental to the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association in Chicago, as elsewhere, was the unprecedented growth of the city and the concentration of young men in its population.¹ With fewer than five thousand inhabitants in 1840, Chicago became six times as large in the next decade and twenty times greater before the Civil War. By 1870 it had grown to almost three hundred thousand,

¹ The history of the Y.M.C.A. is essentially an urban story, both in the conditions which produced it and in the role it has played ever since. This is not to say that there have not been from the outset many small town associations. In large part, however, the early ones had but a transitory existence, and the later ones have been adaptations of those in larger cities. *The Jubilee of Work for Young Men* (New York, 1901), 90, 119ff., 167; Owen E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* (New York, 1939), 53, 58f., 116f., 193.

and ten years later it had become a metropolis of more than a half-million.² During this period of expansion, moreover, young men were preponderant; approximately half the male population in mid-century was between the age levels of fifteen and thirty-nine.³ It was this large group of young men crowding into the rising commercial and industrial center that gave the Association its field of activity. The founders intended it to serve as a Christian agency of orientation for young men ill-prepared to make wise decisions in the strange and distracting urban world.

To a large extent the newcomers were country boys, rude and unsophisticated. In the chaotic new city they found themselves homeless, their roots severed; all the customary assurances and restraints of the hearthside were lacking. But if familiar ties were broken, there was exhilaration in the new found freedoms, and there were novel excitements and diversions. Under such conditions thousands of young strangers in Chicago immediately were confronted with bewildering new problems, the solution of which was as imperative as it was difficult. A place to live must be located, the all important job found, new friendships formed, opportunities secured for recreation, entertainment, self-improvement. In addition, moral and spiritual dangers were omnipresent, for Chicago was a brawling young city, raw and sinful. Rising pell-mell and ramshackle, it was still invested with much of the soil from which it had so miraculously sprung. The city, in truth, was "wide open," unabashed, swaggering and lusty in its sweaty wooing of Mammon. Violence and crimes of every degree abounded. Gambling

² *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Vol. I. Population* (Washington, D.C., 1931), 280. The exact figures are 4,470 for 1840; 29,963 for 1850; 109,260 for 1860; 298,977 for 1870; 503,185 for 1880.

³ In 1850, 54% of the male whites in Chicago were in these age levels, as were 50% of those in Cook County. Ten years later, 46% in Cook County were in this category. J. D. B. De Bow, comp., *Statistical View of the United States . . . Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, D.C., 1854), 51, 395; *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), 694f., 701; *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860; Population* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 78, 79. See also Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1937), I: 172ff.

halls, saloons, houses of prostitution flourished by the hundreds, and on a scale ranging from luxurious emporiums for the sporting gentry to squalid dens such as characterized the malodorous "Sands" just north of the river.⁴

The failure of the city churches to make any adequate provision for the incoming young men served to emphasize the problem. Only a small percentage were said to attend any church. There was little organized effort on the part of the churches to attract them; prevailing exclusiveness was reflected in the practice of renting pews. More important was the fact that many churches moved into the better residential neighborhoods, leaving the poorer sections, including the boarding house districts, comparatively neglected. Chicago's churches, indeed, appear to have been hardly aware of the social situation. Whether conscious of the increasing number of young strangers or not, institutional religion took few steps to meet their social, moral, or spiritual needs.⁵

Important as was this urban situation in providing the Y.M.C.A. with its field, its establishment was the work of devout laymen animated by religious zeal. It was begun by them as an instrument of Christian evangelism and benevolence, and their sustaining ideal was the salvation of young men. In their revivalistic and missionary enthusiasm, their initiative as laymen in religious works, their preoccupation with moral reform, their interdenominational outlook, the founders of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association expressed impulses characteristic of the evan-

⁴ Pierce, *History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 431-35, relates in detail, mostly from contemporary newspapers, the prevalence of lawlessness and wrongdoing in the mid-century city. B. F. Jacobs, who was closely identified with the Chicago Association from its beginning, in a speech before it reported in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1866, asserted that 2,000 saloons and gambling houses infested the city, and that they sold 20,000,000 gallons of liquor annually to the many thousands who patronized them at a cost of millions of dollars. In this recital of the iniquities of the city he also specified that there were three hundred disreputable houses "with more than two thousand licentious characters."

⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1866. The *New York Times*, March 14, 1876, acknowledged: "There is no question that the weak point of Protestantism for some time has been its apparent incapacity of reaching the masses in the large cities. The Churches have become to an extreme degree associations of people in comfortable circumstances." See also Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 355, 357; Pence, *Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 222.

gelical Protestantism of the times. A democratic and moral reform force of great vitality, it underlay not only the Y.M.C.A. movement, but also such organizations as the American Bible, Tract, Home Missionary, Foreign Missionary, Temperance and Anti-Slavery societies. All these—and many other—moral reform groups of the ante-bellum years were distinguished by the decisive role played by laymen in their founding, financial affairs, and growth.⁶ From this perspective, the Y.M.C.A. appears as a typical expression of the Protestant layman in works of Christian reformation, and it displays an interesting synthesis of religious-humanitarian reform and urbanization in mid-century America.

Two Chicagoans may be noticed here in illustration. Both exemplify the strong attraction of the city for ambitious young men seeking fortune. Likewise, they bear witness to the far-reaching influence of lay leadership in Christian good works. Both men found in Chicago the opportunities for profit they sought, as did so many others, but they also found temptations to a life of sin and irreligion that challenged their puritanical consciences. True to their righteous New England traditions, both promptly engaged in aggressive combat with the hosts of evil and, significantly enough, became the two key figures in the first generation of the Chicago Association.

John V. Farwell was born in Steuben County, New York, of parents who had but recently removed from Massachusetts. In 1838, when he was thirteen, he was brought to Illinois by his family, who settled a squatter's claim on Rock River. Two years later he was converted at a camp meeting, as in those days befitted one of devout Methodist upbringing.

⁶ Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), has shown the impetus to this development that came from the revivalism of Charles G. Finney. His book also provides illustration of the manifold reform activities of such religiously-minded laymen as Lewis and Arthur Tappan, Theodore Dwight Weld and a number of others. Additional examples may be found in Ralph V. Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York, 1939); P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *Elizur Wright, The Founder of Life Insurance* (Chicago, 1937); Robert E. Thompson, ed., *The Life of George H. Stuart, Written by Himself* (Philadelphia, 1890); Herbert A. Gibbons, *John Wanamaker* (2 vols., New York, 1926); D. Stuart Dodge, ed., *Memorials of William E. Dodge* (New York, 1887).

Until he was twenty, he worked on the farm and during several winters he attended school nearby. Then he set out for Chicago where, in the ensuing years, he built up a fortune as a leading wholesale dry goods merchant of the city, numbering Marshall Field and Levi Leiter among his partners for a time. Shrewd and enterprising in his business affairs, Farwell was also a man of intense religious and moral conviction. Ever of urgent concern to him was the salvation of souls. Stern and dogmatic in his gospel orthodoxy, he was no narrow sectarian; he went from the Methodists to the Presbyterians, and he wrote his daughter that he had "no preference for any church." To his friend Dwight L. Moody he expressed himself more emphatically:

Union work and Lay Preaching have taken root too deeply now to be rooted out by sectarian swine, however long their snouts. "Wise as doves and harmless as serpents," they cannot do better than drown themselves, as they did in olden times, for the benefit of the living Christianity known by its fruits.

Yet he was an active and generous church worker and an earnest teacher in mission Sunday schools. Revivals throughout the Northwest were assured of his ardent participation; few things brought him more satisfaction than the success of these labors. Identifying himself with most of the moral and philanthropic causes of his day, he became the principal founder of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., whose first three buildings were named after him in recognition of his many gifts and services.⁷

Similarly, Dwight L. Moody came to Chicago from Massachusetts in 1856, when he was not quite twenty. The unrelieved poverty of his early years had not affected a sturdy physique, nor had limited opportunity for learning diminished a purposeful self-confidence. In crude and bustling Chicago he found an environment congenial to his aggressive

⁷ John V. Farwell, Jr., ed., *Some Recollections of John V. Farwell* (Chicago, 1911), *passim*, and [Abby Farwell Ferry], *Reminiscences of John V. Farwell by His Elder Daughter* (Chicago, 1928), I and II: *passim*.

nature. Promptly finding employment as a shoe salesman, he wrote home a few months later: "I have made thirty dollars a week ever since I came out here. . . . My expenses are a good deal but I can make more money here than in Boston." By 1860 he was well started toward the \$100,000 fortune he had determined upon. But he was not forgetful of the teachings of his widowed mother; from the first he was much concerned with the welfare of his soul and those of other young men around him. Two years after he came to Chicago he wrote to his mother:

I hope you will never forget to pray for your son here in the west surrounded by temptations. I never worked in a place before, since my conversion, that there are so many wild young men as there is here. . . . I am in hopes to live before them that I may be successful in winning their souls to Christ.

In 1860 this preoccupation caused him to abandon his business career so that he might devote all his energy to religious work. He had already enjoyed a remarkable success in his North Market Hall Mission Sunday School. It was here that Farwell joined him in an association that carried over into the Chicago Y.M.C.A. and subsequently into Moody's great revival career. The close friendship of these two men was inspired by a common religious outlook and ardor. It was productive of much evangelism and philanthropy, and in Chicago the chief agency of their Christian enterprise was the Young Men's Christian Association.⁸

The founders of the Chicago Association were not without precedents to guide them. They could draw on the experience of several young men's mutual improvement societies. Some of the members of these organizations later were numbered among the initiators of the Y.M.C.A., and its early activities reflect the program of its predecessors. Under such names as the Young Men's Association, the

⁸ W. H. Daniels, *D. L. Moody and His Work* (Hartford, 1876), 28ff., 41ff., 67; Paul D. Moody and Arthur P. Fitt, *The Shorter Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago, 1900), I: 22ff.; William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York, 1930), 36f., 44, 63, 67; John V. Farwell, *Early Recollections of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago, [1900]), 8, 101.

Mechanics' Institute, and the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement, each had its own emphasis, but they had much in common. Thus they all sought to furnish a pleasant social center as an attractive and respectable resort for young men alone in the city, to maintain a library and reading room supplied with books, magazines, and newspapers suitable to their membership, to sponsor such informal educational projects as lectures, discussions, debates, and exhibits, and to carry on similar works of moral and intellectual improvement and social amelioration. None of them successfully worked out a well-rounded program to meet the varied needs of Chicago's young men, nor did they take deep root. Yet some played useful roles for a time in the life of the city, and all are of passing interest as predecessors of the Y.M.C.A.⁹

The largest and most ambitious was the Young Men's Association, founded in 1841. For a quarter-century it maintained a social center, organized debate and discussion groups among its members, and sponsored lectures that eventually were organized into a regular winter series and contributed handsomely to the support of the society. Although plans for educational classes in all "the great departments of knowledge" never materialized, its reading room was popular and it came to boast the city's largest circulating library.¹⁰ The

⁹ A variety of organizations of this sort appeared all over the country beginning about 1820, and they flourished especially in the rising cities where they provided a number of useful services for young men. Samuel R. Warren and S. N. Clark, eds., *Public Libraries in the United States of America, Their History, Condition, and Management, Special Report*, Bureau of Education, Part I (Washington, D.C., 1876), especially Chaps. XIV and XXXVIII and pp. 383ff. The Lyceum and Athenaeum were not necessarily urban or young men's societies and cannot be considered predecessors of the Y.M.C.A., though they engaged in activities much like those under discussion. The influence of the Lyceum in particular on the Chicago Association is seen in the fact that the latter's literary clubs for many years were called Lyceums. The Chicago Lyceum was begun in Chicago in 1834 and the Athenaeum was organized two years later. Gwladys Spencer, *The Chicago Public Library: Origins and Backgrounds* (Chicago, 1933), 9, 45ff., 118, 120.

¹⁰ By 1865 it had 7,000 volumes available to its 1,658 members. It declined rapidly thereafter, being reorganized as the Chicago Library Association in 1868 and four years later turning its library over to the new Public Library. The Young Men's Association of the City of Chicago, "Reports, 1855-1868" (MS, Chicago Historical Society). Bound with these is S. T. Otis, "Recollections of the Founding of the Young Men's Association in 1841." See also *Daily Chicago American*, Feb. 1, 4, 1841; *Chicago Daily Journal*, Jan. 20, Feb. 4, 5, 9, 1846; *Daily Democratic Press*, March 22, 1854; March 30, 31, Sept. 13, Dec. 22, 1855; Spencer, *Chicago Public Library*, 51-73, 260, 320.

Chicago Mechanics' Institute—begun in 1842 after a false start earlier—served a more restricted membership, as its name implies, but its activities were of a similar nature. It, too, maintained a reading room and a circulating library of some merit, sponsored exhibits and lectures of a scientific nature, and in addition held annual mechanical and agricultural fairs. The *Prairie Farmer*, which had begun publication in 1840, was designated as its official organ. The Institute prospered until the late Fifties and had a nominal existence for some years after.¹¹

Both the Young Men's Association and the Mechanics' Institute professed to keep a wary eye on the moral welfare of their young members, but the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement was single-mindedly devoted to "the religious improvement of strangers as well as residents in the city." Inaugurated in 1852 or 1853, it opened a social room called Harmony Hall that soon attracted some one hundred and fifty members. Presumably this was to serve as a shelter from sin, and a center of positive Christian action for the membership and the city at large as well, but the scanty evidence indicates that it failed to prosper in its works of piety. Yet it is significant that it was members of this group who issued the organizational call for the Y.M.C.A., and that Cyrus Bentley, one of its leaders, became the first president of the Association.¹²

¹¹ *Chicago American*, Jan. 7, 21, 1837; *Chicago Daily American*, Feb. 16, 28, June 27, 1842; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Dec. 15, 1846; May 18, Oct. 26, 1847; *Daily Democratic Press*, Jan. 23, 1854; Jan. 11, 24, May 17, 1855; June 19, 22, 1858; Ira Miltimore, "Address," in Autograph Letters, XVII: 157 (MS, Chicago Historical Society); Spencer, *Chicago Public Library*, 100ff., 138.

¹² Bentley represented the Society at the first International Convention of the Y.M.C.A. in 1854, and this seems to have led some writers to believe that the Chicago Y.M.C.A. was founded in 1852 or 1853, though it was not organized until 1858. *Fifty-five Years: The Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago, 1858-1913* (Chicago, 1913), 1; Richard C. Morse, *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Associations* (New York, 1913), 22, 28. Though similar in some respects, the two organizations were of different origin. *Monthly Bulletin of the Young Men's Christian Association* (Chicago), Aug. 2, 1886, p. 3; May, 1892, p. 4; Edwin B. Smith, John C. Grant, and Horace M. Starkey, *Historical Sketch of the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago, 1858-1898* (Chicago, 1898), 14. The Chicago Society may possibly have been an offshoot of those of like name founded thirty years earlier in a score of North American cities by David Nasmyth. John Campbell, *Memories of David Nasmyth* . . . (London, 1844), 95f.

Most important of the precedents for the Chicago Association, however, were the successful Y.M.C.A.'s in a large number of other cities. Seven years before the Chicago Association was organized, Boston, in 1851, had begun the first one in the United States, appropriately modeled on the original London Association founded by George Williams in 1844.¹³ Widely advertised, the Boston organization inspired many others; in the next three years some half-hundred were launched, including those in such leading cities as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Louisville, New Orleans, and San Francisco.¹⁴ Reports of the accomplishments of this vigorous new movement awakened among religious-minded young men in Chicago a natural desire for a similar effective agency to serve their needs. With the virtual failure of the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement, and the limited character of the other young men's societies in the city, the time was ripe for a new venture which should be religiously motivated yet comprehensive in its program for young men.

The immediate impetus to the initiation of the Y.M.C.A. in Chicago came from the religious enthusiasm awakened by the dramatic prayer meetings in which the revival of 1857-1858 centered. In Chicago, as elsewhere, impressive union meetings were held at the noon hour in a large downtown hall, where hundreds of men and women gathered daily in fervent prayer and many professed salvation. Individual churches held morning or evening meetings on a smaller scale, winning scores of new members. By the spring of 1858 the revival had become a phenomenon of commanding interest, and multitudes had felt the power of prayerful redemption or rededication.¹⁵ A decade later a Chicago re-

¹³ Laurence L. Doggett, *History of the Young Men's Christian Association* (New York, 1922), 110ff.; *Jubilee of Work for Young Men*, 44f.

¹⁴ Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, 124-25. By the end of the Civil War there were 156 in North America, located in 31 of the 36 states, the District of Columbia, and four Canadian provinces. Pence, *Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 10.

¹⁵ *Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Chicago), March 17, 31, May 12, 1858; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, April 6, 20, May 10, 1858.

ligious journal, in speaking of the origin of the local Y.M.C.A., described this period as follows:

A tide of religious feeling . . . beginning to rise in 1857, rose so high in the winter and spring of 1858 as to sweep away all denominational lines. The press both religious and secular of the latter year, speak of this revival as something wonderful. Meetings, which in the early part of the winter, were at first but the usual weekly church prayer-meetings, soon became daily and then semi-daily. Crowds attended them. The pressure became so great as to make the use of a large hall, centrally located, a necessity. Metropolitan Hall, which is capable of holding fifteen hundred persons, was secured, and on the twenty-second day of March was thrown open at noon, and immediately filled to its capacity. The revival was the theme of conversation everywhere. Men spoke of it on the 'change, in their business houses, and, for a time, it displaced, as a topic of conversation, even the important political contest of that year. There was a thoughtfulness that pervaded the entire business community which rendered it easy to speak of and almost impossible to avoid the one great thought.¹⁶

The "evangelizing organization known as the Young Men's Christian Association," as mentioned in this journal, was launched while the revival was at its height. Its initiators were strongly influenced by what one of them called this "most glorious work of grace," and its most distinctive activity for many years thereafter was the noonday prayer meeting which it immediately began to sponsor.¹⁷

It was the conjunction of forces such as these that led to the publication of a call by members of the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement for a meeting on March 22, 1858, to consider the launching of a Y.M.C.A. in Chicago. A "large number" of young men attended, and amid scripture reading, hymn singing, and prayer, unanimously resolved to establish an association "on a similar basis" to those already existing. A committee of seven persons, one from each evangelical denomination represented, was appointed to draw up a plan of organization. Six meetings followed before a constitution was adopted on April 19. Officers

¹⁶ *The Advance* (Chicago), March 19, 1868, p. 6.

¹⁷ Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 11f., 25, 28; Farwell, Jr., *Some Recollections of John V. Farwell*, 102; *The Watchman* (Chicago), June 15, 1878, p. 5.

were elected on May 17 and the first meeting was held on June 21.¹⁸ To this gathering President Cyrus Bentley read his inaugural, a document clearly revealing the basic influences behind the organization:

During the past few months God has, in His infinite mercy, favored our land with a most glorious work of grace. . . . From all classes, ages, and conditions of society, have been gathered precious trophies of His victorious power. Especially from the young men of our land have been raised up, as the fruits of this work of the spirit, a great army. . . . Moved by the reports that are borne to us of the benign results achieved by the Young Men's Associations of other cities, we have spontaneously come up hither, from the various evangelical churches of the city, without any reference to sect or denominational preferences, and organized this association, for the avowed purpose, under God, of rescuing and saving these vast numbers of young men in our city from the temporal and eternal ruin to which they are exposed. On the banner we this night unfurl to the breeze of Heaven is emblazoned this grand purpose of our combined energies, under the Almighty, "The Salvation of Young Men."¹⁹

The constitution under which these high purposes were to be attained seems to have been much like those adopted by other associations of the time.²⁰ Its declared object was "the improvement of the spiritual, intellectual, and social condition of young men." Active members were required to belong to an evangelical church, but any man of good moral character might qualify as an associate member on payment of a small annual fee; in 1861 an amendment admitted women as auxiliary members.²¹ Officers were annually elected by the active members, as was a Board of Managers representative

¹⁸ Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Association of Chicago, June 21, 1858 (MS, Chicago Y.M.C.A.); *The Christian Times* (Chicago), May 5, 1858, p. 3. Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 14f., print from a now unavailable "First Report of the Chicago Association" the outline of organizational steps taken.

¹⁹ Quoted by Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 11f. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, May 5, 1858, p. 3, urged its readers "to identify themselves with this instrumentality, so universally adapted to the saving of souls, and especially suited to the protection of our young men from the alluring evils which surround them."

²⁰ No copy of the original constitution is known, but the essential portions are printed in Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 16ff., 23.

²¹ Managers' Minutes, May 13, 1861; Sept. 14, 1863; *The Christian Times*, Oct. 21, 1869, p. 4. The admission of women became general Association practice beginning in the late 1850's; they were not generally excluded until near the end of the century. Pence, *Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 15, 71-73.

of the evangelical churches of the city.²² It is noteworthy that in Chicago, as in other cities, the clergy played but a minor role in the origin and development of the Y.M.C.A. Though there was close co-operation between the churches and the Association, its leaders were nearly all young business or professional men and in large part of New England heritage.²³

Religious activities with an evangelistic object were the primary interest of the new organization. "The spirit of prayer" was indeed "the prevailing spirit of the Association." As one contemporary said:

The principal feature of the work during the early years was the daily prayer-meeting, and the religious efforts growing out of it. The fervor of the brethren who led and took part in the daily meetings was inspiring, and the meeting itself was a sort of rallying place for the men and women who were occupied in the various lines of Christian effort in the city. . . . The very atmosphere of the rooms of the Association was one of prayer and praise.²⁴

The noon prayer meeting of the 1857-1858 revival was moved into Association quarters and conducted under its sponsorship; for decades thereafter it was the leading feature of the organization.²⁵ At the same time, these conveniently located rooms were expected, in the words of the inaugural, to serve as "a common place of resort to which to invite the

²² Managers' Minutes, June 21, 1858, and June 30, 1859. A legislative charter, granted in 1861, conferred power to hold tax-exempt real estate on the Board of Managers, but an amendment in 1867 authorized a Board of Trustees, holding office for life, to hold and control all Association real and personal property (MSS, Chicago Y.M.C.A.).

²³ Prominent Chicagoans identified with the Association in its first generation include John V. Farwell, Cyrus Bentley, Dr. John H. Hollister, Edwin S. Wells, Turlington W. Harvey, Nathaniel S. Bouton, Elbridge G. Keith (all of whom were presidents in the first two decades), C. H. McCormick, George Armour, Orrington Lunt and others. Some of these were large employers of young men, which raises the question of their economic self-interest in the Association as an agency calculated to promote industry, sobriety, and general reliability. There is, however, no direct evidence on this before the 1880's. A number of men less well known in city affairs of the time were, with Farwell, the most active workers in the Association; due mention of them appears later. Brief biographical sketches of the presidents appear in *Fifty-Five Years*, 34ff. See also Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 15f., 27; *The Watchman*, June 15, 1878, p. 6.

²⁴ Quoted by Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 32f.

²⁵ Prayer meetings were also held regularly on Saturday evenings, and from time to time special ones in various places about the city. *The Watchman*, June 15, 1878, p. 5; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 6; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 26, Sept. 9, 1861.

idle and thoughtless young men of the city, where they may pass their time pleasantly and profitably in reading, and in intercourse with Christian young men, and thus be brought under religious influence."²⁶ Young men were also to be encouraged to identify themselves with the city churches. The Association itself, by earnest proselyting in its prayer meetings, religious talks, visitations, and similar undertakings, hoped to carry on an energetic campaign to win souls and protect newcomers from the pitfalls of the city.²⁷

Nor were the founders indifferent to a number of other needs of young Chicagoans. Guided by the activities of associations in other cities and of earlier young men's societies in Chicago, they anticipated a varied and extensive program. The bylaws suggest something of this in their provision for committees on library, rooms and receptions, lectures and meetings, statistics, and printing and publication. The first-mentioned was charged with acquiring and maintaining a suitable collection of newspapers, periodicals, and books, while members of the Committee on Rooms and Receptions were given blanket instructions to "do all in their power to make the rooms an attractive place of resort to the young men of this city." The Committee on Lectures and Meetings was to "provide for the delivery of public lectures upon subjects adapted to the spiritual and mental improvement of young men," and it was also authorized to "procure teachers and lecturers for any private classes that may be formed by the members."²⁸ In such ways as these the Y.M.C.A. hoped to contribute to the social and intellectual life of its members as well as to safeguard their morals and promote their religious welfare. And additional important functions were

²⁶ For the first year accommodations were rented and furnished at 205 W. Randolph St. Managers' Minutes, June 21, Sept. 13, 1858. See also Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 16, 47; *Monthly Bulletin*, Aug. 2, 1886, p. 3.

²⁷ A Committee on Statistics was to make studies on the number of young men belonging to and the number attending evangelical churches, the number "who desecrate the Sabbath," and other matters "as may serve to show the moral and religious condition of young men of the city." Managers' Minutes, June 26, 1858.

²⁸ Managers' Minutes, June 26, 1858.

envisaged in the maintenance of an employment service and a boarding house directory, both of obvious usefulness to young strangers in the city.²⁹

It soon became apparent, however, that these large expectations were not being realized. There was not enough money to furnish really attractive quarters or to provide a lively social program in them.³⁰ The library, largely dependent on donations, was unimpressive.³¹ Fortnightly lectures by local clergymen soon were supplemented by the occasional engagement of national celebrities when it was discovered that substantial income could be derived from public admissions, but nothing was done to institute informal educational classes, or the proposed employment and boarding house services.³² Even the religious meetings languished after a time. The minutes of the Board of Managers reveal, in fact, that for two years or more after the spring of 1859 the Association not only failed to flourish, but that it came very near to extinction. It was constantly on the verge of insolvency, the membership remained small, a quorum of the Board was difficult to secure, even after it was reduced to five members, and there was little vitality apparent anywhere in the organization.³³

The financial weakness which resulted in inability to

²⁹ *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 6.

³⁰ Nearly \$1,000, which was more than half the total income, went for rent and furnishings the first year, but this sufficed only for very plain and limited accommodations. In 1859 the Association moved to new, but not much more pretentious, quarters in the First Methodist Church block, Washington and Clark streets, where it remained until 1867. Managers' Minutes, Nov. 8, 1858; March 7, April 11, 1859. Monthly socials and receptions seem to have been the only special attractions offered. *Chicago Times*, Nov. 18, 1861; May 19, 1862; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 6; *Monthly Bulletin*, Aug. 2, 1886, p. 3.

³¹ Not over \$100 annually was spent for papers and magazines in the first decade, and the small book collection consisted entirely of gifts. The Board kept close watch over the selection of reading material, which was heavily weighted with religious items. Managers' Minutes, Aug. 9, Dec. 13, 1858; Aug. 8, Sept. 12, Dec. 16, 1859; July 9, 1860; Sept. 14, 1863; Sept. 12, 1864.

³² Managers' Minutes, Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 1858; Jan. 10, April 11, May 9, Aug. 8, 1859; May 14, Aug. 13, 1860; July 13, 1863.

³³ On Jan. 1, 1859, there were reported to be about 150 members, and this figure seems to have approximately doubled in the next few months; but by early 1861 it was again about 150. *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 6; *Monthly Bulletin*, Aug. 2, 1886, p. 2; Managers' Minutes, Feb. 11, March 11, 1861. Entries in the Minutes under date of Nov. 14, 1859, and Jan. 23, 1860, are illustrative of recurring financial difficulties.

carry on effective work for young men was accompanied by—and no doubt in part was due to—a total lack of effective leadership. Well-meaning as were the founders, they were unable to give Association affairs more than occasional attention. There was no one to devote all his energies to it, to identify himself completely with it, to provide the constant personal supervision and planning necessary to execute the good intentions behind it. Lacking resourceful executive direction, the organization bogged down in pious declarations and prayer meetings attended by a dwindling circle of more or less professional religious workers. Thus in its first years the Association failed to awaken much interest among the young men of the city, or to make an impression as in any way a unique or significant urban agency. In consequence, it was unable to win support either from young men or any other adequate constituency in Chicago.

In the winter of 1861-1862, however, a new aggressiveness and vitality manifested itself in Y.M.C.A. affairs, and a large expansion of activities began. The history of the Chicago Association as an effective urban agency clearly dates from this time. Two explanations of this development suggest themselves. The first appears in the new demands on and opportunities for its services resulting from the exigencies of the Civil War.³⁴ Under this stimulation fresh enthusiasm was awakened, purse strings were loosened, and the Y.M.C.A. came to assume a variety of responsibilities and functions for which no other adequate agencies then existed. As a result, it won wider attention and more general support, and gradually established itself as an effective and accepted religious and social agency in the life of the community.

Thus, a few months after the war began, the Chicago Association appointed an Army Committee which initiated

³⁴ As early as Nov. 12, 1861, for example, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* appealed to the Association to provide a place of worship at Camp Douglas, urging that this would be a "glorious and permanent monument to the Association."

an extensive work in providing the armed forces of the area with hospital and other supplies, religious literature, and medical and spiritual services.³⁵ When the United States Sanitary Commission was organized, the Army Committee co-operated fully with it. Likewise, acting as the North-western branch of the United States Christian Commission, the Y.M.C.A. sent out over two hundred "delegates" who served a total of nearly nine thousand days with the soldiers, disbursed over two hundred thousand dollars in cash and stores, and distributed vast numbers of Bibles, hymnals, and other books, as well as magazines and newspapers.³⁶ Along with this, five companies were raised toward a proposed "Christian Regiment," and doctors and nurses were dispatched to western battlefields.³⁷ Camp Douglas and Cairo were the principal scenes of its work for soldiers, several thousand dollars being spent in each place for a building to house a reading room and provide quarters for religious meetings held every noon and evening.³⁸

In addition to its direct participation in the war effort, during the war years the Y.M.C.A. also made important contributions to the community. It won much approval, for example, for its sponsorship of regular Sunday evening war meetings in the city churches.³⁹ Indicative of its expanding role in social service was its assumption of relief work in the city. A Relief Committee was appointed in the fall of 1861; increasing its scope of activity with the growing distress of the war years, it reported late in 1863 an expenditure during the preceding year of \$6,000 in the relief of sixteen hundred or more "cases

³⁵ Managers' Minutes, Nov. 11, 1861; Aug. 18, 1862; Nov. 9, 1863; *Chicago Times*, Sept. 9, 1861; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1861. The Army Committee consisted of Farwell, Moody, B. F. Jacobs, and Tuthill King.

³⁶ *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7; Farwell, *Recollections of Moody*, 47; Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 259, 377, 452, 454. Farwell was one of several American Y.M.C.A. leaders on the executive committee of the Christian Commission, which was instigated by the Association. Thompson, ed., *Life of Stuart*, 128ff.

³⁷ Managers' Minutes, Aug. 18, 1862; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1862; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7.

³⁸ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1861; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7.

³⁹ *Chicago Times*, Jan. 11, May 10, July 19, 1862; Jan. 31, 1863.

of want."⁴⁰ For several years beginning in 1864, the Y.M.C.A. administered the funds and the relief work of most of the private charities in the entire city, disbursing in this activity some twenty-five thousand dollars annually.⁴¹ Thereafter other agencies assumed major responsibility, but for many years the Association kept a city missionary in the field engaged in distribution of clothing, food, and fuel, visitation and medical attention to the sick, as well as spiritual ministry.⁴² The end of the war enabled it to add to its record of usefulness in the community when its employment service, recently begun on a small scale, was rapidly expanded to place hundreds of demobilized soldiers in peacetime jobs.⁴³ For many years, beginning in 1866, the Y.M.C.A. engaged a full-time employment officer who found positions of all kinds for several thousand men and women every year.⁴⁴

If it was the demands of the war years that gave the Chicago Association new opportunities to assume an important role and establish itself as a useful urban agency, it was Dwight L. Moody more than any other man who provided the energy and leadership necessary to capitalize on these opportunities and push the Y.M.C.A. into the fore-

⁴⁰ Managers' Minutes, Sept. 9, 1861; Nov. 9, 1863; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1861; Jan. 22, 1862; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 20, Oct. 10, 1862; Jan. 13, 1864; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7.

⁴¹ *The Christian Times*, Dec. 1, 1864, p. 3; *Chicago Times*, July 31, Oct. 24, 28, 1865; Managers' Minutes, Aug. 15, 1864; Nov. 12, 1866; Oct. 14, 1867. An agent was appointed to take charge of this work in 1866 at a salary of \$1,800 a year. Managers' Minutes, Feb. 12, 1866; Feb. 11, 1867.

⁴² In 1873 a \$10,000 endowment provided for the employment of a female city missionary "of approved piety and efficiency." Managers' Minutes, June 14, 1873; May 6, 1876; *Y.M.C.A. Monthly* (Chicago), Feb., 1875, pp. 1, 2.

⁴³ This work was begun in 1863, when volunteers undertook to give a short period to it each day. Their services were available to all without charge. Managers' Minutes, May 11, Nov. 9, 1863; Aug. 14, Sept. 11, 1865; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7. *The Chicago Times*, Oct. 28, 1865, reported that the Y.M.C.A. had placed 218 discharged soldiers during the past month.

⁴⁴ Managers' Minutes, Oct. 8, 1866; Aug. 3, 1867; May 13, 1868; Sept. 20, 1869; June 17, 1876. In the spring of 1870 it was reported that over five thousand had been placed in the preceding year. *The Advance*, June 23, 1870, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, April 30, 1868 (Supplement); April 15, 1869, p. 5; May 25, 1871, p. 5; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1866; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 16, 1870; *Y.M.C.A. Monthly*, Feb., 1875, p. 2. In 1866, a Boarding House Committee was also established; for many years it maintained a useful register of approved living places for the young men of the city. Managers' Minutes, May 7, 14, June 21, Dec. 10, 1866; *The Advance*, April 15, 1869, p. 5.

front. His vigorous participation in its affairs began in the spring of 1861. Then regarded as "a young man with more zeal than knowledge," he nevertheless had impressed John V. Farwell, whom he had enlisted in his very successful North Market Hall Mission Sunday School, with his evangelistic ardor and forcefulness. Without official authorization or remuneration, though perhaps with President Farwell's personal encouragement and financial support, Moody promptly assumed responsibility for executing Association business.⁴⁵ As a sort of institutional dynamo, he charged the organization with revivalistic zeal, consecrated it to "the Lord's work," built up its attendance and membership, and engaged it in a variety of activities that shaped its character for a generation or more. His own rise in the organization paralleled the rapid expansion of the program for which he was largely responsible; in five years he had become its president, a position to which he was re-elected the following three successive years.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Moody was not one of the initiators of the Chicago Association, being at that time a semi-literate shoe salesman with a certain notoriety for zeal in mission Sunday school work. He had been a member of the Association in Boston, however, and, as an enthusiastic participant in the revival prayer meetings of 1857-1858, had become interested in the Chicago Y.M.C.A. Farwell, *Recollections of Moody*, 8; William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York, 1900), 47ff.; Daniels, *Moody and His Work*, 31ff.; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7. Until the spring of 1861 he was primarily concerned with his Sunday school work. In the year the Y.M.C.A. was founded, he launched his North Market Hall Mission Sunday School; two years later he gave up his business career to devote all his time to his mission school, which was fast becoming the largest independent one in the city. When he transferred his energies to the Y.M.C.A., it became the sponsor of his Sunday school. Managers' Minutes, April 8, 1861; May 11, 1863; Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 370. In his annual report for 1861-1862, Farwell stated: "Brother D. L. Moody, without any official action on the part of the Association, has given his entire time and energies in executing the several plans of doing good referred to herein, and to his efforts mainly are we indebted for their practical execution." Extolling his "fidelity and earnestness," he noted that the Y.M.C.A. had made him no remuneration and urged that this be remedied. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1862. An obscure entry in the Managers' Minutes, May 13, 1861, suggests that Moody was then authorized to act as "Librarian" and "City Missionary" for the following year, though no salary was designated and there is no further reference to him in this or any other capacity for another year.

⁴⁶ Beginning as Librarian and City Missionary in the spring of 1861, he made himself so useful that before the end of 1862 he was invited to sit regularly with the Board of Managers; in another year he was given charge of all devotional meetings; in the spring of 1865 he was elected to the Board of Managers; and a year later he was first elected president of the Association, a position he continued to hold until the spring of 1870. Managers' Minutes, June 9, Dec. 8, 1862; Nov. 9, 1863; April 10, July 10, 1865; March 26, 1866; March 11, 1867; March 16, 1868; March 27, 1869. The Minutes through these years reveal that Moody's most faithful co-workers were Farwell, Jacobs, Hollister, P. L. Underwood, E. W. Hawley, H. C. Mawry, and W. H. Whitehead.

It was Moody who supplied most of the initiative and drive in the extensive wartime services, yet these were but a part of the total program the organization undertook during the decade of his leadership. City relief work, illustrative of the Association's new enthusiasm for a Christian ministry among the poor, was supplemented by the work of city-wide tract distribution it began in 1862. On petition of interested laymen and clergy, it agreed to appoint a publication committee, representative of each co-operating denomination in the city, to select tracts which the Y.M.C.A. undertook to publish and distribute.⁴⁷ Some eighteen months later it reported that 675,000 pages of tracts had been distributed in the course of 100,000 visitations, at a cost of \$1,290.⁴⁸ A few years after, a married couple was employed as tract-distributing missionaries, visiting jails, saloons, hotels, ships in port, and thousands of the city poor in quest of Christian commitment.⁴⁹ In furtherance of this work the Association established two religious papers, *Heavenly Tidings* in 1866, and *Everybody's Paper* in 1869. For the better part of a decade these were broadcast by the tens of thousands, with the Yokefellows organized in 1870 to enlist young members as volunteers in carrying on this work.⁵⁰

At the same time the Association began to play a more significant part in the intellectual life of Chicago. Not until Moody's presidency had much attention been paid to providing a library of any merit, but in 1867, at his suggestion, the sum of \$2,000 was appropriated for book purchases, and

⁴⁷ Managers' Minutes, May 12, 19, 22, Aug. 18, 1862; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 30, May 7, 20, 1862.

⁴⁸ Managers' Minutes, Nov. 9, 1863. See also *ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1865, and *Chicago Times*, Oct. 21, 1862.

⁴⁹ Managers' Minutes, May 14, June 11, Dec. 10, 1866; Jan. 14, June 10, Aug. 3, 12, 1867; May 13, Dec. 21, 1868. The couple was paid \$1,700 the first year and \$2,300 thereafter.

⁵⁰ Managers' Minutes, Sept. 10, 1866; Feb. 8, 1869; Aug. 3, 1870; *The Advance*, April 5, 1869, p. 5. The publishing department eventually occasioned much difficulty and annoyance, and late in 1873 *Heavenly Tidings* was sold for \$500. Managers' Minutes, Nov. 1, 15, 22, 29, 1873. After several years of effort, *Everybody's Paper* and the entire publishing department were sold for \$1,525. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1874; June 10, 17, 1876; April 28, May 1, 8, 1877.

thereafter large expenditures were fairly frequent.⁵¹ In 1870, after various improvisations, a full-time male librarian was engaged at \$1,000 a year, and about the same time library rules were framed and a catalogue was published.⁵² But the most important development in this direction came in 1871, when the Association's library was reorganized as a free public library, then the only one in Chicago.⁵³ By this time it numbered 5,200 volumes, 51 daily and 88 weekly newspapers, and 55 periodicals, all housed in a new and attractive "fire-proof" room.⁵⁴ In these same years the Association also began to provide the city with popular lectures and concerts. Productive of a satisfying revenue as well as good will, they were expanded in the later 1860's into a regular winter series that eventually became the leading "Lyceum" in Chicago.⁵⁵ This public series was supplemented on occasion by special lectures, such as those designed to offer "a scientific course," and by the inauguration of a lyceum or literary society for the membership.⁵⁶

The basic motivation of all these activities was religious, and each was valued in terms of its direct or indirect contribution to moral reform and spiritual welfare. Under Moody's leadership the Y.M.C.A. was, indeed, transformed into an agency of city-wide evangelization. In the 1860's and 1870's public evangelism became the most important of all its functions and gave it its essential character. Recounting

⁵¹ The initial large appropriation was made while Moody was in England, where he proposed to make the purchases. Managers' Minutes, May (no date), 1867. When the Association building burned early in the next year, only 800 books were saved. *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1868. The sizable acquisitions in this period were made possible by a \$10,000 endowment from George Armour, which the Board voted to use exclusively for the library. *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, Nov. 9, 1868; Feb. 8, June 2, 1869; *The Advance*, April 15, 1869, p. 5.

⁵² Managers' Minutes, Jan. 4, Feb. 8, March 29, 1869; Feb. 21, 1870; Feb. 13, 1871. The library was at this time open to the public, but only members could withdraw books.

⁵³ A gift of \$1,200 provided the incentive and the means for this change. The Y.M.C.A., in return, promised to maintain its library free to the public for five years, after which it again limited book circulation to members. *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1871; April 8, 1876. The Chicago Public Library was not opened until 1873.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1871; *The Advance*, May 25, 1871, p. 5.

⁵⁵ Managers' Minutes, Sept. 24, 1866; Oct. 14, 1867; Feb. 27, 1868; Feb. 8, 1869; Sept. 25, 1871; *The Advance*, Jan. 28, 1869, p. 4; May 25, 1871, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Managers' Minutes, Sept. 23, 1867; July 20, Sept. 5, Oct. 24, 1870.

the decline of the Association in its first few years, Moody, in a speech in 1867, placed the blame on the failure of its initiators to seek out sinners "in the byways and dark places, where they are hidden away from the light of Christ and His Gospel. . . . Then," he continued, "we began to go out and bring them in." To such an extent had this been true, in fact, that some were saying, "we have reached the limit of our power. . . . But," urged the indefatigable Moody, "we must rally round the Cross; we must attack and capture the whole city for Christ."⁵⁷

This primary concern is reflected even in the plan of the three buildings erected by the Association in these years, each of which had as its leading feature an auditorium capable of seating several thousand and another large room for prayer meetings.⁵⁸ They became the scene of a constant round of religious meetings, all carried on with revivalistic fervor. The noonday union prayer meeting was held year after year without interruption, regularly attended by a hundred or so and on occasion by many more. Saturday, Sunday, and Monday were particularly filled with devotional meetings for Yokefellows and others—Bible classes and religious lectures, Sunday school teachers' classes, evangelistic services (in the 1860's conducted by Moody who here began his after-service inquiry meeting), strangers' meetings, and special meetings for young men. And in midweek there were special meetings, some of them especially for temperance workers.⁵⁹ Equally varied and numerous were the religious activities

⁵⁷ Quoted by Daniels, *Moody and His Work*, 126. See also Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 66f.; L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (New York, 1917), 194.

⁵⁸ The first of these, in 1867, was the original Y.M.C.A. building in America, and it, as well as the second, in 1869, was built during Moody's presidency. Both were destroyed by fire shortly after they were dedicated. A third was erected in 1874. All three were located on the south side of Madison Street, between Clark and LaSalle, on the site of Farwell's early residence and given by him to the Association; all were appropriately named Farwell Hall. They were in sharp contrast with the one built in 1869 by the New York Association, which was designed to accommodate a fourfold work (spiritual, mental, social, and physical) for young men. Smith, Grant and Starkey, *Chicago Y.M.C.A.*, 24, 47ff.; Doggett, *Life of McBurney*, 84ff.; *Monthly Bulletin*, May, 1892, 4, 6f.

⁵⁹ Managers' Minutes, July 10, 1865; May 14, 1866; Oct. 14, 1867; June 2, 1869; Dec. 12, 1874; Jan. 29, 1877; *The Advance*, Sept. 5, 1867, p. 4; Jan. 16, 1868, p. 6; Jan. 13, 1870, p. 6; May 25, 1871, p. 5; *Chicago Times*, Nov. 5, 1866; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 30, Feb. 27, 1871.

the Association engaged in outside its headquarters, for it conducted services in mission churches and Sunday schools, carried on cottage meetings and many services of a similar nature in the city's lodging houses, hospitals, jails, and houses of refuge, and during the summer months it held outdoor revival meetings.⁶⁰ With all this, it also found time to campaign vigorously in the cause of temperance and for the suppression of obscene literature, against "Sabbath desecration," smoking, theatergoing, dancing, and billiards.⁶¹

Through such diverse and manifold activities as these, the Young Men's Christian Association had become, in the Sixties and Seventies, a principal center of religious and philanthropic work in the city of Chicago. It had demonstrated its usefulness to the community, attracted the support of a large and loyal constituency, built up a membership of some twelve hundred by the end of its first decade and several hundred more in the years immediately after, and acquired institutional structure and strength. But it had also begun to spread its energies very widely. Although it offered a number of useful services and attractions to young men, it quite obviously had departed far from its original field of work exclusively for them. And as new and specialized organizations appeared to take over many of the functions earlier assumed by the Association, it came to find its role in general evangelization and community good works increasingly amorphous. As a result, its second generation of leaders was forced to do a good deal of backtracking to reorient the work around the specific needs of young men in the city. Nevertheless, their task was measurably facilitated by the example of vitality and adaptability set by the founders. However overlaid, the institutional pattern was dynamic and soundly woven.

⁶⁰ Managers' Minutes, April 14, 1862; May 11, 1863; Jan. 8, 1866; Aug. 12, 1867; May 13, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 2, 1868; April 6, May 4, 1869; *The Advance*, March 19, 1868, p. 7; April 15, 1869, p. 5; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1861; Nov. 5, 1866; *Y.M.C.A. Monthly*, Feb., 1875, pp. 1ff.; March, 1875, p. 2.

⁶¹ Managers' Minutes, Oct. 19, Nov. 11, 1861; Sept. 11, 1865; May 7, Nov. 12, 1866; Nov. 9, 1867; May 24, 1873; Dec. 20, 1877.

THREE GENERATIONS OF NEW SALEM PIONEERS

BY IDA L. BALE*

HENRY Bale, originally Heinrich Behl, came to what is now Sussex County, New Jersey, about 1750. There he built a mill and dam and also a blacksmith shop. He was a man of great enterprise and is described in *The Early Germans of New Jersey*, by T. J. Chambers, as "one of the most prominent men of his day in that part of the country."

There is a tradition in some of the Bale families that while they were German, they had come from France. This puts them close to the Rhineland. In view of subsequent events one might guess that Henry Bale's forebears had mills in the old country.

Henry Bale built his water-propelled mill of logs near the site of the present depot of Lafayette, New Jersey. Across the Paulins Kill he built a dam that stood one hundred years and finally was taken out because the impounded water flooded so much of the adjacent land. Today there is no trace of the mill and the stream has changed its course. Thus the old landmarks pass into oblivion.

Henry Bale married Elizabeth Gunderman, a member of a family of early Swedish settlers of New Jersey. They had three sons and several daughters. The sons all became operators of grain mills. Jacob, the eldest, migrated to Kentucky. Henry and Peter, his younger brothers, went down the Paulins Kill eight miles and built the Baleville mills. These mills must have become of considerable importance because a village which took the name of the proprietors sprang up around them.

* The author wishes to express her appreciation to Mr. J. W. Losey, Mr. R. O. Bale, and Mr. Buckner Bale for information supplied by them for this article.

Most of the descendants of Henry and Peter Bale reside in New Jersey, New York, and Ohio, but few bear the Bale name. One branch that settled in New York invariably spells the name "Bales."

Jacob Bale, the eldest son, accompanied by his wife and several children took the western route through Ohio and arrived in Kentucky in 1797. The family traveled in a covered wagon drawn by six horses. Tradition has it that they were met on the bank of the Ohio River near Louisville, Kentucky, by "land sharks" who offered them 1,000 acres of canebrake for their wagon and teams. They refused the offer and drove south about seventy-five miles until they came to Big Brush Creek in Green County. Here they founded the second colony of Bales in America. After almost one hundred and fifty years it is estimated that some five hundred of their descendants are buried in the old graveyard, and that an equal number, variously named, are living in the state of Kentucky.

Three miles above the point where Big Brush Creek empties into the Green River and slightly west of where Little Brush Creek flows into Big Brush Creek, Jacob Bale built a dam and set up his primitive mill. Natural Bridge, one of the beauty spots of Kentucky, is only a mile distant. Directly above the mill on a high hill stood the brick house in which the family lived.

Jacob Bale, who was born in 1761, had married Sapphia (Suriah) Snook in Newton, New Jersey, in 1786. She was of Dutch descent. Jacob Bale had been in Kentucky but a short time when it became necessary for him to go to Holland in connection with an estate which she had inherited. Our admiration goes out to this little Dutch grandmother, who was short of stature and "broad as she was long." She had all those attributes of character which were so necessary to pioneer mothers. Left alone in the wilderness with young children and a farm and mill to manage, she carried on for almost two years until Jacob's return from Europe.

There is an anecdote relating to his homecoming: While baking bread one day Sapphia looked out of the window and said to someone who was standing near, "There comes Jacob," and continued with her bread baking. Her five tall sons (one son having died in youth) fulfilled the Kentucky tradition in regard to height, and with their six sisters made a typical Kentucky family of that time. The old Bale mill and home place passed from Jacob to his oldest son, William, who operated the mill during the rest of his life; then it became the property of a family by the name of Marcum, who were the last to make use of it. Of the five sons of Jacob Bale, three—Solomon, Jacob, and Abraham (Abram)—left their home state and with their families moved to Illinois during the 1830's. Solomon was the only one of these three brothers who was not a miller in Illinois. He settled on a farm on Crane Creek in what is now Mason County and became a successful farmer and respected citizen. Although he owned good teams of horses and mules, he walked to Kentucky and back more than once. When big camp meetings were held in his neighborhood, he would prepare for them by taking a wagonload of wheat to the mill to be ground into flour. Then between twenty and thirty strange people would "put up" at his house for the duration of the meeting. That was pioneer hospitality. A number of the well-to-do and esteemed families of Mason County are his descendants.

Jacob Bale, born in New Jersey in 1794, settled near the present city of Petersburg, Illinois, about 1830, but he soon became a citizen of nearby New Salem. John Cameron and James Rutledge had built the New Salem mill and one of Rutledge's sons was operating it. In 1831 it was leased to Denton Offutt, who had Lincoln "look after it" while employed in the Offutt store. Then in 1832 Cameron advertised the mill for sale. It is thought that Jacob Bale was living in New Salem as early as 1833, and there is evidence that he was operating the New Salem mill in 1834. In the August 1,

1835, issue of the *Sangamo Journal* published in Springfield, Illinois, the following advertisement appeared:

TO EMIGRANTS

I will sell on reasonable terms my mill on the Sangamon river, at the town of New Salem, with the tract of land connected therewith.

Also—A farm lying near Petersburg, containing 240 acres, 90 acres under fence, with comfortable buildings, pleasantly situated.

Also—A farm containing 120 acres below Petersburg, 40 acres under fence, with good buildings.

Also—Two lots, with buildings in New Salem. Application can be made to the subscriber, living at New Salem.

Jacob Bale.

July 30, 1835.

This was the year of the malaria epidemic in New Salem and Jacob may have intended to return to Kentucky. Nevertheless, he did not sell his New Salem property. Before his death in 1844, he had made arrangements to build the second New Salem mill—a large flour mill to care for the increasing crops of wheat.

Jacob's brother Abraham (Abram), the Baptist revivalist, acquired the property about 1850, selling a mill that he owned at the time in Tazewell County, Illinois. Ministers of that day received small salaries, and often no salaries at all. Consequently Abraham Bale depended upon milling and farming for a livelihood. Because of failing health, he made slow progress in the building of the mill and after his death in 1853, it was taken over and finished by his sons.

The three sons of Abraham Bale—Edward L., James L., and Fielding V.—operated the mill for a number of years, and became widely and favorably known. They retired from the business in the order of their names as given here, the last one carrying on the business until 1883. They were the last of the Bale millers.

Abraham Bale and his twin brother, John, were born in Green County, Kentucky, in 1801. Both were ministers and both married sisters, Mary and Dimma Lewis, daughters of Edward Lewis of Green County, Kentucky, who had come

there from Virginia about 1790. Abraham Bale was the last of the three brothers to reach Illinois. With his family in the covered wagon he drove into the almost-deserted town of New Salem where his brother, Jacob, still lived in the fall of 1839. That winter the newcomers lived in nearby Petersburg.

Almost at once Abraham Bale began those great revivals for which he became noted. Sometimes he would baptize as many as fifty converts in one afternoon in the Sangamon River below the New Salem mill dam. He was called a great preacher with much personal magnetism. In appearance he was tall and well formed, with light hair, slightly curled, and with hazel eyes. Having only a common school education, he preached in the emotional manner that had a strong appeal for most of the pioneers. Soon after his settlement in Illinois he became a member of the Regular Baptist Church of Clary's Grove, situated several miles west of New Salem. He held revivals for the church and organized associations in other communities. At this time he lived on his farm at Little Grove north of the church.

After the death of his first wife and after his second marriage, the church "called" the Reverend J. L. Turner who was a relative of his first wife and a protégé of his own. Turner had often assisted him in conducting revivals. In those days church members were allowed to "cite" each other for misdemeanors. In accordance with this practice Abraham Bale informed the board that Brother Turner owed him money. Turner was notified to appear next Sunday. However, he managed to postpone his appearance several times. At last he replied that he would meet Brother Bale on a specified day as he was anxious to have the matter settled. This was satisfactory to Bale, but the church refused to consider it and demanded that another appointment be made. So much dilly-dallying was too much for Bale's patience and he settled the matter in short order by walking out of the

church.¹ The church subsequently dismissed him.

The following item is recorded in the old records of the Regular Baptist Church of Clary's Grove:

Resolve, that we drop Bro. Bale from our fellowship for Publicly declaring himself unwilling to recognise the jurisdiction of the Church over him in prosecuting the settlement of the difficulty between him and Bro. Turner any further.

Abraham Bale loved to preach, but the excitement of conducting revivals and the exposure to which they subjected him shortened his life. He died at the age of fifty-two and was buried in New Salem graveyard.

The most prominent member of the Jacob Bale family of New Salem was his oldest son, Hardin, who was born in Kentucky in 1816. He had great aptitude for mechanics as well as executive ability. He operated Samuel Hill's carding machine in New Salem and then purchased it. In the early Forties he removed it to Petersburg. Originally the carding mill was propelled by a span of mules on a treadmill, but the enterprising Hardin soon built it into a woolen factory powered by a steam machine. After several years Hardin Bale took Samuel Hill, his former employer, as a partner. They enlarged the factory and added a grist mill. About 1866 Bale sold his interest in the factory to John Hill, son of Samuel Hill, and with a great wagon loaded with machinery started to Pikes Peak. While crossing Missouri he received word that the woolen mill at Petersburg had been destroyed by fire. To this day that fire is known locally as "the great fire." Hardin Bale and his partner, John B. Gum, immediately returned to Petersburg. Hardin embarked on several different enterprises but finally, with financial aid given by Coleman Smoot, he started a woolen factory in a temporary building which was also destroyed by fire. But he was a man of in-

¹ Brother Turner was not retained to fill the pulpit of the church. He spent the rest of his life as a minister in Macon County, Illinois.

An old friend of the writer told of her mother attending church trials. They were considered the height of entertainment and people would go miles, often staying overnight on the road, to be in time for the meetings.

domitable courage and so he built a third woolen factory. This he finally had to lease when he became incapacitated by a fall which caused his death in 1879. Less than three years after that date the woolen mill at Petersburg again lay in ashes, never to be rebuilt.

The Bales of the first three generations were true pioneers of America. They were not of the roving class. Instead, they made one move in each generation and became reliable citizens of the community, known as honest, industrious, and capable men.

HISTORICAL NOTES

ON WRITING LOCAL HISTORY

Do you write history? Do you think you would like to write history? Are you a serious-minded person with an unsatisfied creative urge?

If you can answer any one of those three questions in the affirmative, by all means get a copy of *Local History: How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It*, by Donald Dean Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson.¹ The book, which has just been published, costs \$1.00, and the writer of this note stands ready to refund that amount to any purchaser who does not consider it worth several times the price.

The term, "local history," has long had a faintly derogatory connotation. Professional historians have tended to consider it beneath their dignity; to others it has stood for antiquarianism, or perhaps for the commercial county history so popular fifty or sixty years ago. It is appropriate, therefore, that the author of *Local History*, and also the late Christopher B. Coleman, who contributed a preface, should establish the dignity of the subject at the outset.

Local history [Dr. Coleman wrote] is an excellent, but too little used, introduction to the whole field of history. It affords contact with original, primary sources of information, it calls for exploration and discovery in untrodden areas, and it prevents the misconception that history is merely something already written in books. For teachers it offers the opportunity, also, of putting scientific training to the service of the community and of avoiding the endless repetition of stale information. To men and women not connected professionally with schools, it presents an excellent field for the exercise of a lively intellectual curiosity, and provides a safeguard against the leadership of ignorance; it gives the individual, humble or noted, a place in the development of knowledge and wisdom.

Mr. Parker emphasizes that every community, no matter how small, has a history that is worth bringing to light and recording. He warns that the writing of local history is no road to wealth, but he points out, truly, that for a temperamentally qualified person, no occupation will yield greater returns in pleasure. As a British writer put it a few years ago: "The fun of it is simply enormous, and when once you get going it

¹ The Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City, 17. \$1.00.

chases cross-word puzzles, the various football competitions and, dare I say it? bridge as well off the field."

But *Local History* is devoted in the main to practical advice. Where does one go for information? How does one conduct an interview with an old resident? What public records are likely to be of value, and where may they be found? What is the best way to take notes? What subjects should be covered? How is an index made? What does it cost to print the completed history, and how many copies may one expect to sell? These questions and many others are not merely answered: they are answered explicitly and in detail. To the trained, experienced writer of history, much of the book will be elementary, but even he is likely to come across at least some items of information which it would be well for him to know. To the novice, it should be invaluable.

Having said that, perhaps a soft note of caution will not be out of place. If I were planning to write a town history, I should not take too literally the chapter entitled "A Model Outline for a Local History." Instead, I would use it as a source of suggestions for aspects of town life that I hadn't thought of. (Perhaps that is all the author intended it to be.) Again, I, for one, would like to know why it is bad practice to begin a sentence with "and," "but," or "however." In the words of Henry Seidel Canby, who ought to know something about writing, "Why not?" And if anybody can get 250 copies of a book of 128 six-by-nine pages creditably printed in Chicago for \$246.57, I should like to meet him. But these, and any other criticisms which might be advanced, are of minor consequence. The import of them all can be compressed into one brief admonition: Follow *Local History* generally, but not too slavishly.

Part One of the book is a detailed description of historical source materials and a guide to the places where they are likely to be found. The author mentions many aids to research, but few of those he specifies have direct application to Illinois materials. Perhaps, therefore, a brief account of Illinois manuals and research tools will not be out of place here.

Winifred Gregory's *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, which is recommended, is by long odds the most comprehensive guide to collections of newspapers in libraries, but Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. VI), though compiled thirty-five years ago, is still a very useful book. Moreover, the person who is trying to locate a newspaper file should never assume that it does not exist simply because it is not listed in Gregory or Scott. Many libraries, especially the smaller ones, did not report their holdings for either publication, and the files that have been preserved in newspaper offices have

never been adequately surveyed. A letter to the local public library or newspaper, though a long shot, will sometimes turn up just what one wants. Incidentally, the largest collections of Illinois newspapers are to be found in the Illinois State Historical Library, the University of Illinois Library, the Newberry Library (Chicago), and the Chicago Historical Society.

Travelers' accounts are recommended as a source of local history. A good list for Illinois, with descriptive notes, is to be found in Solon J. Buck, *Travel and Description 1765-1865* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. IX). In using this book one should remember that it was compiled thirty years ago, and that many libraries which were not credited with copies of certain books have since acquired them. Moreover, with the passage of the years, interest in accounts later than 1865 has increased. The Illinois State Historical Library will make up lists of later travelers' accounts whenever it is asked to do so. The user of the Buck volume should remember, too, that the book contains a list of Illinois county histories and atlases, not up-to-date, to be sure, but still helpful.

The *Illinois Historical Collections*, the series of which these works are parts, includes other works with which writers of Illinois local history should be familiar. One of these is Volume XVIII—*Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848*, by Theodore C. Pease, which gives the detailed figures on all state and national elections between those years, and biographical data about all candidates for state and national office. Election returns later than 1848 may be obtained from the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library, Springfield.

Equally useful are Volumes XXIV and XXVI, *Illinois Census Returns, 1810 and 1818*, and *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, both compiled by Margaret C. Norton. The former contains 1810 federal and 1818 territorial censuses and the latter includes the state census returns for 1820. The data given include the names of heads of families, together with the number of white males twenty-one years old and over, other white inhabitants, free people of color, and servants or slaves in each household. Names are listed by counties.

Additional census material is also available in the Archives Division, Illinois State Library. This includes the state census returns for 1835, 1845, 1855, and 1865, though these are not available for all counties for all four years. There also may be found the federal returns for 1840 and 1850, available on microfilm. The 1850 returns show not only the names of the head of each family, but also the names of each person in it, together with age, place of birth, and occupation. For a complete list of all Illinois census data available in the State Library, one should read

Margaret C. Norton's article on "Census Records in the Archives Department of the Illinois State Library," published in the May, 1944, issue of *Illinois Libraries*.

Local History recommends the original surveyors' notes as a source worth consulting, and recommends that the interested student try to find them in the General Land Office or the Surveyor General's office in Washington. In Illinois, one need go no farther than the office of the State Auditor at Springfield. Many years ago this state took advantage of legislation which permitted it to obtain the original notes of the surveyors who ran the lines of the government surveys within its borders, and it has carefully preserved those notes ever since.

The Illinois State Historical Library can be of great help to anyone engaged in writing a history of his town or county, and its staff will do all it can to aid a student. Its collection includes a complete set of Illinois county histories, most county atlases, and many early city directories. It has a fine collection of genealogies and local histories of other states. (The latter are often useful in establishing the backgrounds of early settlers.) Its file of Illinois session laws and House and Senate journals is complete.

In general, the student who expects to make more than casual use of the kind of material described in the foregoing paragraph will find a visit to the Library to be worth the time and expense that it costs. On the ground, he is in position to follow up the leads he is almost certain to find in the books he has come to consult, and the Library's catalog and various indexes will be at his disposal. But if he cannot do his research in person—and there is a strong likelihood that that will be the case under prevailing conditions—the Library's staff members will do what they can in the time at their disposal. Bibliographies will be made cheerfully, and specific questions will be answered expertly. Short excerpts from books or newspapers will be copied without charge. Arrangements for copying longer passages by photostat will be made. This work is done by a commercial firm at reasonable rates, under the Library's supervision.

The Archives Division of the Illinois State Library, already mentioned in connection with election and census returns, contains other material which may be of value to anyone writing a local history. There, for example, one may find the text of a law incorporating a town, which failed of passage in the General Assembly. (If the law passed, it will be in the printed session laws.) In general, the Archives Division is the repository of the non-current official records of the State of Illinois, although many official records are still retained by the offices in which

they originated. Like the Illinois State Historical Library, the Archives Division will supply information by mail.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to remind the person who is engaged in writing local history that he may be able to do a considerable service to other students. The chances are good that he may bring to light historical source material of value—an unknown file of a local newspaper, an old diary or two, or a collection of early letters. If the public library has a good local history collection and is interested in maintaining it, or if the community is blessed with a strong local history society, in all probability he will do what he can to have his discoveries turned over to one of those institutions. If, on the other hand, there is no place locally where such material can be preserved, he will do a real service by informing the State Historical Library of his find. There is also a possibility that he will come across good historical material not local in its significance; this he should certainly bring to the Library's attention. The job of preserving the story of the past can only be accomplished if everyone concerned with it co-operates to the fullest possible degree.

PAUL M. ANGLE

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860 IN PEORIA

Scenes incident to the presidential campaign of 1860 in Peoria are described in contemporary letters written by Benjamin H. Noyes to relatives in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Noyes came from Newburyport only a few months before the election in which Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were contenders for the presidency. Noyes, a merchant, was thirty-nine years old.

From Peoria on August 29, 1860, he wrote to his nephew, Richard Jacques, in part as follows:

Politics are all the go in this state, where they have two sons in the field aspiring for the presidency. You would be surprised to see the warm demonstrations on both sides. They turn out on both sides 3 or 4 times a week and burn 2 or 3 lbs. of burning oil each time in torch light processions. The Newburyport people would probably look frightened to see 2,000 people marching down State street with banners and torches, Chinese lanterns, etc. Three bands of music with fireworks thrown in. The Rep. get up a pole raising and invite the adjacent towns to join. Then the Dem., not to be out-done, take their turn next and throw up a few more blue lights and carry a few more torches. Then the Rep. go to Pekin with their clapping committee, filling 7 cars. Next the Dem. make the same excursion and claim to fill 10 cars. Then the Rep. go on the

steamer *Sam Young* to Lacon and fill the steamer and 2 flat boats, and drowned a Dutchman. Then the Dem. go on the same excursion, to the same place and fill the steamer and 3 flat boats, and drowned two Irishmen. So you see that Douglasites are bound to be a head any-how. This week on Friday the Rep. have a gathering in their Wigwam, which they just built for the occasion and have invited their big guns, but OLD ABE can't come. His guardians request him not to venture abroad or be out after dark. So he won't be here, but Kellogg, Trumbull, Doolittle & Gov. Elect are to come. They will have a great gathering without doubt. Then the Dem. will have their turn. They expect LITTLE Douglas and will try to out do the Rep. So they keep it moving. The little boys [Little Giants] appeared out last night with torches, flags, with white pants, glazed capes over their shoulders and fancy caps. The Lincolnites [Wide Awakes] make the most show, as they come out in uniforms, from the Wigwam, and other expensive movements, but the Douglasites are sure to win.

The writer's prediction was obviously colored by his own partisanship, for Lincoln, as all the world knows, was the victor.

The original letter quoted here is owned by the Peoria Public Library.

ERNEST E. EAST.

PEORIA, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

PARTY WORKERS, 1860 VERSION

Both the late candidates for the Presidency—Mr. Douglas, democrat (of the pro-slavery party), and Mr. Lincoln, republican (anti-slavery), had been nominated from the state of Illinois, so that at the time of the Prince's arrival party feeling ran rather high. On that night there was a torch-light "demonstration" made in favour of Lincoln by the "Wide-awakes." These men mustered in great numbers, and with their torches assembled in front of the Tremont House Hotel, from the balcony of which they were addressed by many speakers until nearly ten o'clock. The speeches were long and temperate, and sometimes almost funny. But, whether temperate or intemperate, funny or dull, the "Wide-awakes" gave no sign of animation. They listened, or appeared to listen, with great attention, but there was no cheering, no laughter, no amusing running commentary of embarrassing remarks, such as one hears on similar occasions from an English crowd. All was orderly in the extreme, but to outward seeming at least dull and apathetic. Certainly a better conducted, or a more perfectly quiet popular assemblage I never saw in my life. But that the meeting had a sensible and practical purpose in view, but that they were earnest about it, in spite of all their quietness, and but that there were no frantic denunciations of everybody but themselves, one might almost have thought they were attending a gathering in Exeter Hall.

On the following evening there was another procession in favour of Douglas, and then, to my surprise, I found that a large number of the men who had turned out before for Lincoln, now came to swell the ranks of his opponent. This seemed so utterly unaccountable, that I made inquiries concerning it at once. Then I learnt that each of the torch-bearers was paid for his attendance, so much per night—a piece of information which at once solved the mystery of their total indifference to the speeches. In fact they were paid to listen to the supporters of each candidate quietly, and enthusiasm for either one or the other could form no part of such a bargain.

N. A. WOODS, *The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States* (1861), 286-87.

DRAFT EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE, CIVIL WAR

CERTIFICATE OF NON-LIABILITY, TO BE GIVEN BY THE BOARD
OF ENROLLMENT

We, the subscribers, composing the Board of Enrollment of the Fourth District of the State of Illinois provided for in section 8, Act of Congress "for enrolling and calling out the national forces," approved March 3, 1863, hereby certify that Samuel Smith of Spring Grove, of Warren county, State of Illinois, having given satisfactory evidence that he is not properly subject to do military duty, as required by said act, and the act approved Feb'y 24, 1864, by reason of furnishing substitute, is exempt from all liability to military duty for the term for which his substitute is not liable, not to exceed one year.

DESCRIPTION.

Name, Saml Smith; age, thirty-one; height, 5 feet 8 1/2 in.; Complexion fair; Eyes blue; Hair aub.; DRAFTED, when, Oct. 18/64; Where, Town and State, Spring Grove Ill; By Whom, Capt. Asbury; Period, one year.

H. A. Asbury

*Provost Marshal, and President of
Board of Enrollment.*

Member of Board of Enrollment.

Charles Coolidge

Surgeon of Board of Enrollment.

Dated at Quincy Ill,
this 3rd day of November, 1864.

MS, ILL. STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

LINCOLN DESCRIBES A MILITIA MUSTER

This explains the new plan or system of tactics adopted by the Democracy. It is to ridicule and burlesque the whole military character out of credit; and thus to kill Gen. Scott with vexation. Being philosophical and literary men, they have read, and remembered, how the institution of chivalry was ridiculed out of existence by its fictitious votary Don Quixote. They also remember how our own "militia trainings" have been "laughed to death" by fantastic parades and caricatures upon them. We remember one of the parades ourselves here, at the head of which, on horseback, figured our old friend Gordon Abrams, with a pine wood sword, about nine feet long, and a pasteboard cocked hat, from front to

rear about the length of an ox-yoke, and very much the shape of one turned bottom upwards; and with spurs having rowels as large as the bottom of a teacup, and shanks a foot and a half long. That was the last militia muster here. Among the rules and regulations, no man is to wear more than five pounds of cod-fish for epaulets, or more than thirty yards of bologna sausages for a sash; and no two men are to dress alike, and if any two should dress alike the one that dresses most alike is to be fined, (I forget how much). Flags they had too, with devices and mottoes, one of which latter is, "We'll fight till we run, and we'll run till we die."

Now, in the language of Judge Douglas, "I submit to you gentlemen," whether there is not great cause to fear that on some occasion when Gen. Scott suspects no danger, suddenly Gen. Pierce will be discovered charging upon him, holding a huge roll of candy in one hand for a spy-glass; with B-U-T labelled on some appropriate part of his person; with Abrams' long pine sword cutting in the air at imaginary cannon balls, and calling out "boys, there's a game of ball for you" and over all streaming the flag, with the motto, "We'll fight till we faint, and I'll treat when it's over."

Speech at Springfield, Aug. 14 and 26, 1852 (in PAUL M. ANGLE, comp., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 101).

THE PRAIRIE PRIMEVAL

It is comparatively easy for any of my readers to imagine a prairie—it is next to impossible to describe one. Leave Dwight behind you, and walk out to the east till all sight and sound of the little village is lost in the distance, and then look round you. There is a huge, undulating ocean of long, rich grass and flowers, which the warm, soft wind keeps in a gentle ripple. There is not a sound but the shrill chirping of millions of crickets, not a shrub or bush to break the dead level of the distant horizon—nothing to vary the wide-spread sea of verdure but its own masses of bright wild-flowers, over which gorgeous butterflies keep always skimming on noiseless wings. This is the prairie. About a mile or so 'a-head is a slight, but very perceptible rise in the ground, and you push on for this to get a good look about you. There is, of course, no track, and your way lies through the prairie grass, in autumn little more than breast high, but in the spring almost over your head; you stride through clumps of resin and compass weeds, through patches of blue, yellow, and purple flowers, through thyme and long rich grass with tall, tufted, reedy plants in the midst, which attract your notice at once. It is the rattlesnake weed, always most plentiful where this deadly reptile abounds, and the root of

which, with immense doses of corn whisky, is said, under certain favorable contingencies, to have averted fatal results from the bites of small reptiles of this species. Where the snake-weed is plentiful, beware and look out well for the snakes too. You can't walk far through the prairie on a hot morning without hearing the dry sharp hissing rattle of one of these deadly serpents, as with his tail so quickly vibrating that you can scarcely distinguish its end, and with the lean, hungry-looking head erect, it moves sluggishly away in search of a place where it may repose and bask undisturbed. Such dangerous occupants of the grass are very common in the prairies, and may with prairie wolves and sometimes deer be seen within a stone's throw of the houses of Dwight itself. But all this while you are plodding through the grass, turning aside for one minute to look at the little prairie crabs which burrow down their holes some fifteen feet to the level of the water below the gravel, and into which they drop at once on the slightest sound of alarm, or else you watch the coveys of prairie hens as they rise with a whirr right and left, and go skimming along like grouse a little a-head of you. At last you gain the summit of the gentle rise, and can look around you for miles on miles in all directions, yet you are almost disappointed to find that you have gained nothing by your walk—that the same tremendous extent of wild meadow land, clothed with a rich luxuriance of grass and flowers, stretches away on every side till deep green fades into brown in the distance, and a line of blackish-blue on the ocean, far, far out, marks where the horizon meets the sky. Yet the land is not all level. It has a series of gentle undulations—of low, long sloping ridges, as if an inland sea, when slowly moving with a quiet, regular swell, had on the instant been changed to rich and fertile land. The prairie of which I write this is known as the Grand Prairie, from the extraordinary fertility of its land—for its length is only 150 miles by 60. But in a south-easterly direction from Dwight one may journey for more than 300 miles and never once quit their long, shallow ridges—never see anything but the external expanse of deep green grass, perfumed with the gum droppings of the resin weed. The southern prairies are broken here and there by water-courses, by clumps of cotton-wood and groves of locust trees. Occasionally, though at rare intervals, a little line of locust trees, looking like rocks in the great ocean of grass, mark where pools of water may be found. These varieties, however, are but few, and after a journey in the great wilderness a tree almost startles you as something out of place in the huge soft green meadow-sea, where the long coarse silky-looking grass bears nothing stronger than a resin weed among it, and where a breath of wind ripples its whole surface into breakers of verdure, which even in the calmest days gives such an aspect of life

and animation to these silent and deserted lands. One might write for days and days on prairie land and prairie life, and yet give but a faint idea of either to those who have not seen them. It is the wild, the overflowing abundance of animal and vegetable life which fills these great reservoirs of nature, the knowledge that the thousands of square miles of soil over which you travel is the richest and most luxuriant in the world, and yet, in spite of this, the utter desolation and absence of the trace of any human being which surprises you, one time with gratitude that there is such land to spare, and the next moment with regret that its great riches should be so neglected and forlorn. Travel on for miles and miles, for days and nights, pass from Illinois across the broad turbid waters of the Mississippi, into the slave State of Missouri—journey for hundreds and hundreds of leagues, as you may do then, yet not quit for a single day those monstrous grassy wastes, those perpetual land calms, in which a silence as great as that upon the sea seems always to remain unbroken.

N. A. WOODS, *The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States* (1861), 297-300.

EDUCATION IN EARLY ILLINOIS

September 14th, 1831.

We, the undersigned, whose names are hereto affixed, do agree to hire Lester Peet to teach a school in our respective District, for the term of four months, for the consideration of Twelve Dollars per month. Said teacher doth agree on his part to teach a regular English school, teaching Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and English Grammar if required. And the understanding is, that said teacher is to board with the scholars. School is to commence by the 15th of November next.

N. B.—Each subscriber doth agree to pay his proportionable part of the teacher's wages, according to the number of scholars that he subscribes for or sends. And it is likewise understood that Joseph Naper, Christopher Paine and Bailey Hobson be and are a committee to superintend said school, and to see that there is a suitable house built in due season, &c.

Joseph Naper, 6 scholars.

H. T. Wilson, 2 scholars.

Richard Sweet, 2 scholars.

Daniel Landon, 1 scholar.

James Green, 1 scholar.

Bailey Hobson, 1 scholar.

John Naper, 1 scholar.

John Manning, 1 scholar.

Daniel Wilson, 1 scholar.

Christopher Paine, 3 scholars.

John Murray, 2 scholars.

Edward A. Rogers, 1 scholar.

C. W. RICHMOND, *History of DuPage County, Ill.*, 12-13.

BOOM TIME IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

July 19th 1835

DEAR SIR

. . . . I have been tolerable successful in my speculations up here. I own about two sections of land in different parts of the Canal rout some of which are said to be very valuable. My selections have all been good. I paid as high as seven dollars per acre for some land near town which in time I expect to realize something very handsome from. I have invested all my means in Land. I purchased a piece of floated land (30 acres [*sic*] on the South Branch of the river within 3 miles of town) which is very valuable I gave 450 dolls for the tract. . . .

Chicago is improving very fast They are about building an Episcopal Church. The ladies had a fair some time since for the purpose of raising money to buy an organ and obtain about fifteen hundred dollars for their *notions* and *fixings*, they did not get any of my money for I had none about that time. There is some talk of building a Theatre to cost 20 thousand dollars. A Tavern is building which is to cost 18 thousands when complete There is a great deal of capital here there are more than a dozen who are worth upwards of a hundred thousands dolls each. Chicago is entirely Eastern in manners and people. Upwards of two hundred families landed last week from down East. Twelve sail lay at anchor at one time discharging [*sic*] their cargoes. . . .

I am yours very Respectfully

[EDW]ARD MC CONNELL

LETTER TO H. B. DUMMER (MS, ILL. STATE HIST. LIBRARY).

NEWS AND COMMENT

We report, with gratification, the following new members of the Society, admitted between October 1, 1943, and September 30, 1944.

LIFE MEMBERS

Marshall Field
Chicago

Ernst G. Schmidt
Chicago

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Mrs. Cuthbert C. Adams
Winnetka

Barret Conway
Winnetka

Mrs. Edna Andrews
Sandoval

Edwin H. Cooke
Bloomington

Herbert S. Auerbach
Salt Lake City, Utah

David J. Cullinan
Rock Island

Harry C. Bell
Fulton

Emmett E. Cummings
Rockford

William E. Baringer
Springfield

Harvey E. Dorsey
Moro

W. S. Bodman
Flossmoor

Thomas B. Dunne
Morris

F. M. Bray
Joliet

Rev. Joseph M. Egan
Chicago

John M. Brewer
Marion

Joseph L. Eisendrath
Evanston

Paul W. Busse
Washington

David V. Felts
Decatur

Mrs. T. J. Byrne
Wilmette

Mrs. George Foley
Sterling

F. G. Campbell
Chicago

George B. Forrest
Chicago

Rev. George Truman Carl
Chicago

Mrs. F. S. Fowler
Princeton

Mrs. Raymond S. Carr
LaGrange

Clarence Freeto
River Forest

Mrs. Theodore S. Chapman
Jerseyville

Theodore W. Fuller
Dixon

William H. Garrison	Mildred Maberry
White Hall	East Moline
George M. Gibson	Mr. & Mrs. Albert C. Mann
West Des Moines, Iowa	Chicago
W. W. Graves	Roy Massena
St. Paul, Kansas	Chicago
Will Griffith	Mrs. John McConachie
Carbondale	Coulterville
Mrs. Nellie Gurley	J. B. McLaughlin
St. Louis, Missouri	Chicago
Hugh K. Hale	Grant M. Miles
Carmi	Peoria
H. H. Hankins	Oscar C. Miller
Ottawa	Chicago
Oscar W. Hayes	J. M. Mitchell
Sidell	Mt. Carmel
Frank D. Hoblit	Mrs. H. Irwin Neill
Atlanta	Kankakee
J. R. Holbert	Mrs. Thomas Nichol
Normal	Monmouth
Mrs. Elizabeth Humphrey	Mr. & Mrs. Corydon C.
Springfield	Nicholson
William I. Hynds	Decatur
Morris	Harmon A. Nixon
Icko Iben	Chicago
Springfield	Maxine Ollman
Charles A. Johnson	Rockford
Palatine	Milo L. Pearson
George R. Jones	Pleasant Hill
Chicago	Carlysle Pemberton
Winthrop S. Jones	Springfield
Tewksbury, Mass.	Hazel Phillips
Emmett C. Kaericher	Oaklawn
Charleston	Arthur Pope
William Lavender	Geneva
Rock Island	Claude W. Pyle
Anita Lesch	Sidell
Chicago	Sylvester E. Quindry
Lawrence A. Ludens	Harrisburg
Morrison	

Millard Rauhoff	Anna Mae Stanley
Blue Island	Carbondale
Mrs. A. B. Renshaw	Mrs. Frederick Steele
Chambersburg	Peoria
Edward Riley, Jr.	Roy E. Taylor
Eureka	Normal
Mrs. Genevieve Rowe	John T. Thomas
Belvidere	Belleville
John Rudin	Walter W. Thurow
Chicago	Plano
Henry F. Scarborough	Robert Trail
Payson	Golconda
Andrew C. Scherer	Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen
Evanston	Chicago
John G. Schroeder	William S. Warford
Evanston	Charleston
Will H. Shelper	Robert Welch
Bloomington	Rockford
Mrs. Lucretia Skaggs	Mrs. Harry W. Wherley
Lincoln	Astoria
R. C. Slater	Roland L. Williams
LaSalle	Winnetka
Chester W. Slifer	Burt L. Wilson
Cincinnati, Ohio	Chicago
John Soloman Smith	Gilbert Wright
Kewanee	Springfield
Turner E. Soltermann	
Pekin	

INSTITUTIONAL

Beloit College Library	Rutgers University Library
Beloit, Wisconsin	New Brunswick, N. J.
Cleveland Public Library	Syracuse University Library
Cleveland, Ohio	Syracuse, N. Y.
Emory University Library	University of California Li-
Emory University, Ga.	brary
Oklahoma A. & M. College	Los Angeles, California
Library	West Virginia University Li-
Stillwater, Okla.	brary
	Morgantown, West Va.

In connection with the recent annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, the McLean County Historical Society published a booklet which is a virtual epitome of Bloomington and McLean County history. The booklet, which bears the long and not-too-descriptive title, *The McLean County Historical Society Welcomes the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society*, contains three principal features: a list of one hundred places to see in Bloomington and Normal; a list of one hundred prominent people to whom McLean County was home; and short accounts of eighteen unusual events in Bloomington history.



In addition to *Local History: How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It*, noted at length elsewhere in this issue, there are two other recent publications which should be of particular interest to readers of the *Journal*. One is *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook*, compiled by Christopher Crittenden and Doris Godard;¹ the other is *American Historical Societies, 1790-1860*, by Leslie W. Dunlap.²

The Handbook of historical societies lists 1,367 societies in the United States and 100 in Canada. Each listing contains essential data relating to the society, its library (if any), and its publications. Illinois lists thirty-eight societies about which full data are given, and thirty-seven which failed to return the questionnaires sent to them. (Among the latter, unfortunately, are several of the state's most active historical organizations.) The Handbook is the fourth volume of its kind published since 1908.

Mr. Dunlap's study is a book of an altogether different kind. In it the author traces the history of historical societies in the United States from the formation of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791 to the eve of the Civil War, and sketches briefly the history of the more important societies of the period. Three Illinois organizations come in for particular mention: Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois, which was founded at Vandalia in 1827 and lasted for six or seven years; the Illinois Literary and Historical Society, which was founded at Upper Alton in 1843 and was in existence as late as 1858; and the Chicago Historical Society, established in 1856, which has survived fire and panic to live to vigorous maturity.

¹ The American Association for State and Local History, Box 6101, Washington, D.C. \$2.50.

² The author, Madison, Wis. \$3.50.

As good proof as one could want of the scholarly function performed by historical societies is provided by one of the most stimulating books of the year—*When Johnny Comes Marching Home*, by Dixon Wecter.³ The book is the story of the soldier's attempt at adjustment following three wars—the Revolution, the Civil War, and the first World War. An examination of Wecter's notes shows the extent to which he relied upon historical society publications for the hundreds of individual cases by which the general problems of the veterans are illustrated. The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, the *American Historical Review*, and the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are representative of those cited. Equally illuminating are the references to source materials in regional libraries, notably, one specifies with pride, the Illinois State Historical Library (incorrectly cited as the Illinois State Library).

When Johnny Comes Marching Home proves another point—namely, that history can be of very great value as a guide to policy. Mr. Wecter, not content to let his narrative speak for itself, points up its meaning in his conclusion and emphasizes certain present and prospective problems which it would be well for the American people to be thinking about.



A novel and interesting contribution to local history has recently been issued by the Museum of Natural and Social Sciences at Southern Illinois Normal University. The publication, a pamphlet entitled *Randolph County Notes*, consists of a historical map of the county, drawn by Loraine Waters, and eighteen pages of explanatory text by John W. Allen. The text has been reproduced from typewritten copy, thus reducing the cost of publication materially. While not many Illinois counties can equal Randolph in historical interest, there is no county in the state that could not produce a creditable publication of this kind.



Readers of the *Journal* who are interested in Galena and the early lead mining industry of Illinois should not overlook an article, "History of Old Platteville, 1827-1835," by James A. Wilgus, in the September, 1944, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Platteville, only a few miles north of Galena, was thought for a time to be in Illinois, and during its early years it was certainly within Galena's orbit. Moreover, most of Platteville's first settlers came from Illinois. John Hawkins Rountree, the town's founder, resided in Hillsboro before he emigrated to the lead mine

³ Houghton Mifflin. \$3.00.

region; Frederick G. Hollman, another early settler, had erected the first dwelling house in Vandalia; Joseph Dickson, who became one of the first farmers in the Platteville region, was born in St. Clair County, Illinois, and had resided in Sangamon County prior to his removal.

Because of their geographical proximity and similar backgrounds, Illinois and Wisconsin have much in common historically. The *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, therefore, is a good publication to keep one's eye on.



The October number of *Mid-America* is devoted to two important articles by Jean Delanglez. The first, entitled "The Voyages of Tonti in North America 1678-1704," is a calendar of Tonti's twenty-six years in North America, a period in which he traveled approximately 35,000 miles. Each entry is dated and supported by full citation of authority. Three pages of maps make Tonti's travels easy to follow. The whole article, which covers forty-five pages, is a contribution of first importance to the history of the French regime in North America.

The second article, "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi River," is one of the five basic sources of information regarding the Marquette-Jolliet expedition of 1673. The document itself is brief, covering only seven pages in printed form, but the editor prefaces it with an introductory statement of twice that length. In that he proves beyond reasonable doubt that it was the work of Claude Dablon, Jesuit Superior at Quebec.



The First Lincoln Campaign, by Reinhard Luthin,⁴ is a timely account of Lincoln's first nomination and election to the presidency. Mr. Luthin begins with a sketch of the origin and growth of the Republican Party, summarizes the political career of each contender for the nomination, relates the familiar story of the Chicago Convention, and describes the campaign which ended with Republican victory.

Mr. Luthin has used practically all the monographic materials which have been produced in recent years, and has consulted many manuscript and newspaper sources. Thus his work stands on a solid foundation than that of any of his predecessors in this field. It has one other merit—it emphasizes the economic factors which were issues in the campaign, although the author admits that all were subordinate to the slavery question. On the debit side, as far as most readers are concerned, must be placed multitudinous annotation and a somewhat pedestrian style.

⁴ Harvard University Press. \$3.50.

Clint Clay Tilton, outstanding authority on Vermilion County history and director and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, has recently donated his library to two Illinois educational institutions. All the volumes on local history were given to the Danville High School, where they occupy a new stack room known as the Clint Clay Tilton Corner. Intended primarily for the use of Danville High School's advanced history students, townspeople and others interested in historical research may also obtain special permission to use this collection.

The remainder of Mr. Tilton's library, consisting of some 2,500 books and pamphlets on Abraham Lincoln and general American history, was donated to the Southern Illinois Normal University. This collection, known as the Clint Clay Tilton Collection of Lincolniana and Americana, is housed in a special room of Main Building on the campus at Carbondale. Both gifts contain a number of rare volumes to which many students of history will now have access for the first time.



The Civil War Round Table, a group of men interested in the history of the Civil War, held a gala dinner at the University Club of Chicago on October 18. Guests of the occasion were the authors of two newly published biographies—Walter H. Hebert (*Fighting Joe Hooker*), and Robert S. Henry (*First with the Most—Forrest*). Both guests spoke briefly and felicitously about the subjects of their books, and additional remarks were made by Avery Craven, author of *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*, and Stanley Horn, author of *The Army of Tennessee*. Otto Eisenschiml presided.



Members of the Boone County Historical Society are considering plans for a home to serve as headquarters and to house the various documents and other articles owned by the Society. A committee on prospective building sites has recently been inspecting various buildings in Belvidere with this object in mind.



The Bureau County Historical Society held open house in the county museum at Princeton on the evening of September 29. Mrs. Richard Ferris and other members of her committee prepared special exhibits for the occasion, which was also the date of the Merchants' Fall Festival in Princeton.

The South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) observed its tenth anniversary on October 26. Honored guests on this occasion were service men and women who were in the community. Speakers included Lieutenant Jack White of the Army Air Forces, Herbert Trowe, Pharmacist's Mate 3/c of the Navy Medical Corps, and William Rider, Aviation Mechanic's Mate 1/c of the Naval Training School.

James Lynch led the community singing with Shirley Griebel at the piano. The resignation of Helen S. Babcock, corresponding secretary of the Society, was announced. Miss Babcock is moving to the west side of Chicago to become librarian of the Henry Legler Regional Library.



The midsummer meeting of the DuPage County Historical Society was held at the Caroline Martin Mitchell Historical Museum in Naperville on August 13. After a picnic supper, H. A. Berens, president of the Society, discussed the organization's plans for the future, and Mrs. Walter S. Fredenhagen, chairman of the Naperville Board of Directors, talked on the history of the local museum.



The proposal to form a Grant Township Historical Society has been made by a number of prominent citizens in the vicinity of Fox Lake. This township played an important part in the development of northern Illinois, and many of its citizens have documents and other articles of historical interest which might be donated to such a society when and if it is organized.



The Lee County Historical Society held its first meeting of the fall at Dixon on October 27. Fifty members of the Society and their friends heard Paul M. Angle relate a series of colorful and significant events which happened in Illinois and make a plea for increased attention to the history of the state. The speaker was introduced by Miss Molly Duffy, chairman of the program committee. While in Dixon, Mr. Angle also spoke to the pupils of the Dixon High School.

Through the instrumentality of the Lee County Historical Society, an erroneous date on a historical marker in Dixon has been corrected. An inscription on a granite boulder placed on the east side of the courthouse square in 1909 stated that Abraham Lincoln spoke there on September 11, 1856. The correct date, July 17, 1856, has now been placed on the boulder as a result of a petition filed with the Lee County Board of Supervisors by Edward Vaile, president of the Lee County Historical Society.

"The Knights of the Golden Circle in Macon County" was the subject of the address given by Edwin D. Davis at the September meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. The program was in charge of a committee headed by Mrs. W. W. Doane.



Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington, was the guest speaker at the banquet of the Peoria Historical Society on October 16. Philip Becker, Jr., president of the Society, served as toastmaster.



The annual fall dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held at the Milan Presbyterian Church on September 29. Following the dinner, the Reverend Ralph E. Lemon talked on the early history of Milan, and Henry F. Staack reported on the Indian corn project at Black Hawk State Park. Music was furnished by a trio from Rock Island Senior High School consisting of Jeanne Lear, Shirley Green, and Sue Harris. They were accompanied by Jim Welty. The dinner committee consisted of Mrs. W. P. Hunt, Mrs. C. R. Rosborough, and Miss Lura Lukens. The program committee included Miss Georgia First, J. L. Oakleaf, and Mrs. Lyman Callaway.



The fall dinner meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held at Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale, on November 17. Included in the program was an inspection of the Clint Clay Tilton Collection of Lincolniana and Americana, described elsewhere in this issue. Nearly a hundred members of the Society were in attendance.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society is now publishing an eight-page quarterly *Journal*. The September issue—No. 2 of Vol. I—contains an article entitled "Protestant Church Schools—Emphasis on Ewing College," by John William Lewis, and news of the society. The editors of the *Journal* are John I. Wright, E. M. Stotlar, and John W. Allen.



James M. Armstrong and Harry W. Walker were re-elected as directors of the Stark County Historical Society on September 18. Carl Lehman was made a new member of the board. Holdover members are Mrs. Louise Younger, Dr. W. F. Jones, Earl O. Turner, Miss Annie Lowman, W. C. Auble, and Mrs. Margaret Shinn.

The following officers were named for the coming year: Harry W. Walker, president; Dr. W. F. Jones, vice-president; Miss Annie Lowman, secretary; and Miss Rena Baker, treasurer.



The Stephenson County Historical Society opened its Freeport Museum with a reception to its members on October 12 and 13. On October 14 the building was opened to the public. It will be open each afternoon from 1:00 until 5:00. To help support the museum, a small admission charge is made.

The Stephenson County Historical Society, aided by a bequest, recently acquired one of the city's historic residences and furnished it in the style of seventy-five years ago. The Society plans to rotate exhibits and to install dioramas and other displays of especial interest to children. Officers of the Society are L. E. Mensenkamp, president; Mrs. Chester A. Hoefer, H. K. Baltzer, and J. R. Jackson, vice-presidents; Miss Helen L. Snyder, secretary; and Clarence W. Chapman, treasurer.

The Society's museum is located at 1440 South Carroll Avenue, Freeport.



The Winnebago County Historical Society joined with the Swedish Historical Society and other local groups in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the courthouse square in Rockford on July 26. A special exhibit of historical records, antiques, and other heirlooms was on display in the courthouse.

At the annual meeting of the Winnebago County organization in September, the following officers were elected: Charles E. Herrick, president; Gedor W. Aldeen, first vice-president; Earl F. Elliot, second vice-president; Miss Katherine E. Dickerman, secretary; Mrs. Herman G. Nelson, assistant secretary; Gilbert H. Rehr, treasurer; Miss Mary L. Henderson, historian; Charles E. Herrick, curator; Milton Mahburg, assistant curator; and Russell L. Smith, attorney.



The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is making preparations to observe the one hundredth anniversary of the great fire that destroyed a large part of Pittsburgh on April 10, 1845. As a part of the observance, it plans to form an "Association of Descendants of Pittsburghers of 1845." The Society asks that descendants of Pittsburghers of

1845, wherever they may live, and any others who have or know of letters, diaries, or records describing the Great Fire of 1845, communicate with Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, 4338 Bigelow Boulevard, Pittsburgh, 13, Pa.

CONTRIBUTORS

Floyd Mulkey is a onetime fellow in the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago. The research for his article on Fort St. Louis was done while he was employed by the Historical Records Survey. He is also the author of the historical sketch of Peoria County published with the inventory of the public records of that county. . . . Dolores M. Manfredini lives in Herrin. She prepared the article published in this *Journal* while she was a graduate student at Southern Illinois Normal University. . . . F. Roger Dunn is a member of the faculty of State Teachers College at Potsdam, New York. . . . Miss Ida L. Bale is a descendant of the Bale family described in her article. Like other members of the family before her, she resides in the New Salem neighborhood.

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